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THE BISHOPS OF OSSORY FROM THE ANGLO-NORMAN INVASION TO THE PRESENT DAY.

BY MOST REV. DR. MORAN, LORD BISHOP OF OSSORY.

Reserving for another time the earlier history of the See of Ossory, I proceed at present to fulfil the promise which I made to the members of the Diocesan Archæological Society by briefly sketching the Episcopal Succession in this See from the Anglo-Norman invasion down to our own days.

The first Bishop of Ossory whom we meet after the Anglo-Normans landed on our shores is—

DONAT O'FOGARTY, A.D. 1152-1175. 8

The name of this Prelate appears on the list of the Bishops who took part in the Synod of Kells, in the year 1152.

The Synod of Kells is justly regarded as one of the most important of the many national Synods of the Irish Church that were held in the 12th century. It was convened by Cardinal Paparo and the Bishop of Lismore, invested with special authority as Legates of the Holy See. Its sessions commenced in the venerable city of St. Columbkill, on Dominica Laetare (the 9th of March), and ended on the following Friday. Twenty-two Bishops and five Bishops Elect, and a like number of Abbots took part in its deliberations, whilst three hundred priests and several princes and chieftains enhanced its solemnity by their presence. Some disciplinary laws were enacted to correct abuses, and to promote order and peace in the Irish Church; and, what added not a little to the importance of this Synod, the four Archiepiscopal Sees were definitely fixed; the respective suffragans were allotted to each; Armagh was declared the Primatial See; and for the first time the sacred Pallium was solemnly imposed by Cardinal Paparo on the now canonically appointed Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam.

All the ancient documents concur in assigning to O'Fogarty a place in the Synod of Kells, but they are not agreed in according to him the title of Bishop of Ossory. There are three lists, indeed, of considerable

authority, which expressly style him "Episcopus Ossoriensis." Thus Ware in "Antiquitates Hibernicae," pag. 87, gives us "ex antiquo codice manuscripto" the signature "Domnaldus O'Fogartaic, Episcopus Ossoriensis." Dr. O'Conor citing the Book of Flannan MacEogan, has also the entry "Domnall O'Fogartaigh, Bishop of Ossory"; and Lynch in his MS. History of the Irish Bishops, appeals to a very old manuscript (verba sunt vetustissimi codicis calamo exarati) for the signature "Donatus O'Fogartaigh, Episcopus Ossoriensis."

On the other hand, the accurate historian, Keating, who cites the contemporary Book of Clonenagh, gives the signature as "Domnall O'Fogartaigh, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Ossory." Some have supposed that this title of *Vicar-General* is nothing more than a rough translation of the old Celtic title *Comharba*, which is so often used in our Annals to designate the Abbots and Bishops of the Irish Sees. Were this the case, however, we would rather expect O'Fogarty to be styled Comharba of St. Kieran, than Comharba of the Bishop of Ossory. But all doubt is removed by the original Irish text of Keating's History (of which two valuable copies are preserved among the St. Isidore's manuscripts), in which we find the title given in full "Domnall O'Foghartha, Biocaire Genearalta Easbuig Osraighe," that is "Domnall O'Fogarty, Vicar-General of the Bishop of Ossory." It is also to be remarked that whilst it is expressly stated in the record from the Book of Clonenagh that twenty-two was the number of the Bishops present at the Synod, that number is found to be complete on Keating's list, exclusive of our Prelate. However, as an ordinary Vicar-General, it is clear that he would have no place in that national Synod, and hence we may justly conclude that his position must have corresponded in some way to that of an Auxiliary or Coadjutor Bishop at the present day. The predecessor (Lynch's MS. states that this predecessor's name was *Donaldus*) of O'Fogarty, would appear to have governed the see for well nigh half a century, and being at this time weighed down by years and infirmities, and unable to take part in the Synod, his Auxiliary Bishop was there to represent the See. This, perhaps, may account for the different titles assigned to him. The Book of Clonenagh would accurately register his own signature as it was attached to the Acts of the Synod; whilst the other historical records would assign to him the title by which he was popularly known. We have instances every day of similar confusion in the

matter of the titles of our present bishops. For instance, the illustrious Coadjutor Bishop of Killaloe, when signing his name to Synodical or other public acts, gives, as a matter of course, his correct signature, and yet the newspapers will seldom omit to refer to him as the Bishop of Killaloe.

The death of Bishop O'Fogarty is recorded in the Annals of the Four Masters under the year 1178: "Domhnall O'Fogarty, Bishop of Ossory, died." The same entry is given in the Book of Leinster. Ware, in his History of the Bishops of Ossory, refers to an old MS. for the following additional particulars: "Donald O'Fogarty, Bishop of Ossory and Comharb of Kieran, went to rest in the peace of Christ, in a good old age, on the 8th of May, 1178, at Rathkiaran." Rathkiaran is situated in the present parish of Mooncoin, and it is a tradition in that district that the Bishop was interred in the old parochial church in front of the high altar. The site of this church was pretty well defined by the Protestant Parochial Church till the last few years, when, there being no Protestants in the parish, the walls of the modern structure were by order of the Protestant Irish Church Body demolished, and the materials sold to a road-contractor for a few shillings. There are in the parish of Mooncoin several names, such as Coill-an-Easpuic (the Bishop's Wood), and Boher-an-Easpuic (the Bishop's Road), which would seem to imply that the Bishop of the See resided there in former times.

Among the muniments in the Ormonde Castle is preserved the original charter by which Richard FitzGislebert, better known by his surname of Strongbow, granted to Adam de Hereford "half of the town of Achebo (Aghaboe) and the half cantred of land in Ossory, in which it lay, to be held by service of five knights." (*Gilbert*, National MSS. Ireland, vol. 2nd, pl. lxiii.) When FitzGislebert died of an ulcer in his foot, in 1176, the native chroniclers did not fail to regard his death as a judgment from heaven for having desecrated so many shrines and sanctuaries of the saints of Erin. His principality in Leinster, comprising Ossory and the three counties of Wexford, Carlow, and Kildare, became the marriage portion of his daughter, and thus passed to William Earl Marechal, head of the baronial family which held the hereditary office of Marshal to the King of England. This nobleman a few years later founded at Kilkenny and richly endowed the Priory of St. John, granting it to the Knights'

Hospitallers, who devoted themselves to the relief of the poor.

FELIX O'DULLANY. A.D. 1178-1202.

Felix, whose Irish family name, O'Dubhlain, has been anglicized O'Dullany, and is now generally written Delany, was the next Bishop of the See. He was a Cistercian Abbot, and was famed among the religious brethren for the sanctity of his life. In the year 1180, aided by Donagh Mac Gillapatrick, Prince of Ossory, he erected the great Abbey of Jerpoint, which, for its fine position on the banks of "the stubborn Nore," its noble architecture, and its extensive possessions, was reckoned among the chief Religious Establishments in the Kingdom. It is an imposing structure even in its ruins, and there are few excursions that will so well repay the Christian pilgrim as a visit to the silent cloister and ruined aisles of Jerpoint.

It was this venerable Bishop who fixed the Cathedral of Ossory in Kilkenny. For a considerable time the church of St. Canice at Aghaboe had been regarded as the Cathedral of the Diocese, but now that district had become the battle-field of the contending armies of the Irish Princes and the Anglo-Normans, and was exposed to constant ravages. For this reason, as we read in some fragments of annals preserved among the Usher MSS. in T.C.D. [MS. E. 3 13.] "Felix O'Dullanus translated the See from Aghaboe to St. Patrick's Church of Donaghmore, which is now situated in the old town of Kilkenny." The words cited from an ancient catalogue of Bishops of Ossory, by Usher, prove that in the beginning of O'Dullany's Episcopate the Cathedral Church was at Aghaboe. "Anno Domini, MCCII. obiit Reverendus pater Felix O'Dullane episcopus Ossoriensis, cujus ecclesia Cathedralis tunc erat apud Aghboe in superiori Ossoria." Britt. Ecc. Prim. pag. 957. St. Patrick's, however, did not long enjoy the honourable distinction of being the Cathedral Church, for O'Dullany, on the site of the old church of St. Canice, laid the foundations of a Cathedral which he lived to complete and dedicate, and which, enlarged and rebuilt by his successors, continued till the time of the Reformation to be recognized as the Cathedral of Ossory. In the oldest Roman Provinciale the See is called "Kilcannich, id est, Ossoriensis," whilst in other ancient documents it is styled "Ossoriensis, alias de Canic." O'Dullany not only built the Cathedral, but also laid the foundations of the city of Kilkenny, which rapidly grew up around the church, and in the course of time became one of the most populous and important

inland cities of the kingdom. Lynch, in his manuscript history, writes: "totam ditionem tumultibus et bello fervere cernens, majoris quietis et securitatis captandae studio, Canicopolim se recepit et fundamentum collocavit tam templo quam oppido extruendo."

O'Dullany had no vain respect for persons when defending the rights and guarding the property of the See. He did not hesitate to pronounce sentence of Excommunication against Theobald Fitzwalter Butler (from whom sprung the Ormonde and other branches of the Butler family), and his adherents, for having seized on some lands belonging to the Church. It was only during the episcopate of O'Dullany's successor, when restitution was made of the ill-gotten lands, that Theobald was absolved from the censures he had incurred. The following record, addressed by this nobleman to his liegemen of Ossory, has been preserved by Lynch in his MS. History of the Irish Bishops: "Theobaldus Walteri Pincerna, omnibus hominibus suis per Ossoriam salutem in Domino. Sciatis quod cum ego et mei excommunicati fuissemus a Beatae Memoriae Felice Ossoriensi Episcopo, propter terras quas Ecclesiae abstulimus, quod per commonitionem simul et comminationem fratris nostri Huberti B. memoriae Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, Ego praedictus Theobaldus reddidi venerabili patri Hugoni, Ossoriensi Episcopo successori praedicti Episcopi terras et possessiones quas ego et mei illi abstulimus."

Donagh McGillapatrick, who proved himself a great benefactor of the Cistercians in Ossory, was buried in the Abbey Church at Jerpoint, and Bishop Felix O'Dullany chose the same church for his resting-place. Some portions of the Bishop's tomb, at the north side of the high altar, may still be seen. He was long held in high repute as a man of great sanctity; several miracles were said to be performed at his tomb, and his name was inserted in some local martyrologies.

O'Dullany is referred to by Manriquez, in the Annals of the Cistercian Order, tom. 3, pag. 69, 98, and 393; the Bollandists, January, tom. 2, pag. 561; and Mansi in the Supplement to the Councils, tom. 2, pag. 737. He is also mentioned in the Letters of Pope Innocent the Third, who, on the 21st September, 1198, at the request of the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and of the Bishops of Ossory and Kildare, sanctioned "confirmationem electi Episcopi Leghlinensis, quam in absentia Dublinensis Metropolitæ impertitus

fuerat Archiepiscopus Cassellensis velut Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus." (Ex Regesto, an. 1, ep. 366).

The Annals of Loch-Cé record the death of this Bishop under the year 1202, as follows, "Felix C'Dubhlain, bishop of Osraighe, mortuus est."

Dr. Graves, in the History, etc., of St. Canice's Cathedral, pag. 30, contends that it is to the Episcopate of the next Bishop de Rous the translation of the cathedral from Aghaboe and the erection of St. Canice's should be referred. This, however, is a gratuitous statement, which is sufficiently refuted by the ancient authorities already cited, and also by the Clarendon MS. Catalogue of the Bishops of Ossory, which, speaking of Bishop de Rous, adds that though he did a great deal for the newly-founded Priory of Kells, "he did nothing for his See." The territory around Aghaboe, even at this early period, appears to have been a battlefield between the contending parties of the foreigners themselves. We have seen that a grant of lands at Aghaboe was made to Adam de Hereford. Meyler Fitz-Henry, however, advanced a claim to the same lands, and, as was usual in those times, appealed to the sword to assert his claim. King John, by Royal Letters of the 8th of March, 1201, endeavoured, but in vain, to calm these contentions. "The King commands his Justiciary and faithful subjects of Ireland (thus runs the Royal Patent) that they maintain, protect, and defend the lands of Adam de Hereford in Offaly and Ossory—to wit, the cantred of Aghabo (the name is corruptly written *Hatebo*): that they permit not that Adam, his brothers, or tenants, be disturbed; but that they cause him to enjoy those lands, saving the right, if any, of Meyler Fitz-Henry; that they provide bounds between him and his neighbours, and that they maintain him in peace until he is attached before the King touching the appeal between him and Meyler Fitz-Henry." (*Calendar of Documents*, Ireland, by Sweetman, vol. I., n 166). But if the northern parts of the diocese were thus disturbed, the neighbourhood of the newly-founded Cistercian Abbey at Jerpoint would have special attractions for our Bishop, who was himself a Cistercian Abbot, and the fact of such an Abbey being erected there and endowed through the munificence of the chieftains of Ossory is of itself a sufficient proof that at this time those districts of Kilkenny enjoyed a comparative peace.

HUGH DE ROUS, A.D. 1202-1218.

Hugh de Rous, who is also called Rufus, was the first Anglo-Norman Bishop of Ossory. He was a Religious of the Augustinian Priory at Bodwin in Cornwall, and was one of those selected to proceed thence for the foundation of the new Priory at Kells in Ossory, in the year 1193. He was, at the time of O'Dullany's death, Prior of this new establishment, and as Ware writes: "was by the unanimous voice of the clergy elected Bishop in 1202, and, before the end of the year, was consecrated." He proved himself throughout his episcopate a constant benefactor of Kells, ("Qui diversa bona in dicto monasterio perpetravit, nihil in sede episcopali." Clarendon MS. in British Museum), and of his order, and at his request the Abbey of Saint Columba, at Inistioge, was restored, and was handed over to the Augustinian Canons by Thomas Fitz-Anthony, in the year 1210. De Rous granted the See lands at Aghaboe to William Earl Marechal, receiving in exchange other lands "in locis ei utilibus et competentibus" as set forth in the deed of transfer. To the same Anglo-Norman Lord of Leinster, he made a considerable grant of land on which the Ormonde Mansion in great part now stands, reserving to himself and successors the annual payment of an ounce of gold. The Earl erected a noble castle there, and chartered the town, granting to it several corporate privileges. For the purpose of enlarging the city, the Bishop made a further grant to him of the land lying between Cottrell's bridge, over the Bregach, now Watergate bridge, and St. Keneroch's well, now called St. Kieran's well, which is about midway between the Bregach and the castle. For this concession the Earl bound himself and his successors to pay to the Bishop four ounces of gold annually.

Among the patent rolls of King John (an. octavo) A.D. 1206, there is one granting protection to Hugh, Bishop of Ossory. About the year 1210, Kilkenny became shire-ground, and sheriffs and other officials were appointed after the manner of England.

Before the close of his Episcopate the Government in England ordered the Justiciary for Ireland to prohibit the admission of any Irishman to cathedral preferment in Ireland, a penal edict which, a few years later, was annulled by a Bull of Pope Honorius the Third.

It was during his Episcopate that the celebrated Cistercian Abbey "De valle Salvatoris" was founded and richly endowed by William

Earl Marechal, to whom we have already referred. In ancient records it is called the Abbey of Duiske from its position at the confluence of the Duiske with the Barrow. A town soon grew up around it on the Abbey lands, which was called Graigue-na-managh, *i.e.*, "The Grange of the Monks." De Rous granted to this Abbey the village of Stathmarkestdivan, together with its churches, "reserving yearly to the mother church of Ossory twenty shillings, payable at two terms in lieu of all services and exactions."

Bishop Hugh died in 1218, and was buried in Kells, a high marble monument being erected in the middle of the choir over his remains.

PETER MALVEISIN, AD. 1218-1231.

The King, by Patent of the 8th of December, 1218, notified to the Archbishop of Dublin, whom he styles the Papal Legate, that Odo, Dean of Ossory, and William, Chancellor, and Master G——, Envoys of the Dean and Chapter of Ossory, had brought letters announcing the death of Hugh, late Bishop of that See, and praying that a license would be granted to the Chapter to elect a successor, and further, that the said envoys would be empowered to proceed to such election. The King having granted the desired licence, they had chosen Peter Malveisin to fill the vacant See. The King had approved of this election, and now prays the Archbishop "to do what belongs to him in this respect." "Letters of the same import were addressed to the Judiciary, and to the knights and tenants of the See, commanding them to give possession of the temporalities to the Bishop-elect; and other letters were sent to the Chapter of Ossory notifying the royal assent to the election, with a mandate that "they admit Master Peter, and be intentive and respondent to him as Bishop-elect."

This Bishop-elect, whose name is sometimes written Mauveisin, and latinized Malus Vicinus, stood high among the Anglo-Norman nobility. He was a Canon of Ossory, and, although he also held a prebend in St. Patrick's, Dublin, was not in Holy Orders. A difficulty now arose regarding his ordination, for it was whispered that he was of illegitimate birth, and the matter being referred to Rome, the Holy See refused to ratify his election, or recognize it as canonical and valid. There is extant a letter of Pope Honorius the Third, the 21st of May, 1219, to Pandulf, Bishop-elect of Norwich, Legate of the Holy See, "ut e Sede Ossoriensi expelleret Petrum Malvicinum, Canoni-

cum S. Patritii Dublinensis, primo electum, deinde postulatum, ac demum intrusum, quatenus constaret minime canonicam fuisse ejus electionem." Regest. an, 3° epist. 461. Six months later (19th November, 1219), however, a dispensation was granted in regard to his birth, permitting him to be promoted to Holy Orders and to hold Ecclesiastical preferments; but the proviso is added: "Hac vice tamen volumus quod abstineas a susceptione regiminis Ossoriensis Ecclesiae, quae destituta Pastore in te sua vota direxit antequam esses nostrae dispositionis gratiam consecutus." (Reg. ep. 507).

The King, finding that the Pope persisted in refusing to confirm the appointment of Malveisin, wrote to the Justiciary on the 15th of August, 1220, cancelling the election: "the King revokes what has been done in the election as of no effect, and commands the Justiciary to take into the king's hands the See of Ossory, and deliver the custody thereof to Thomas FitzAdam;" and it was further ordered that Malveisin would surrender to the Justiciary all the proceeds which he had hitherto received, and a royal mandate was forwarded to the Chapter to elect John de St John for their Bishop. (Calendar, vol. i., pag. 146, No. 965).

For another year the See appears to have been left in this uncertain state. In the beginning of March, 1221, the King, by letters addressed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Canice's, presented Bartholomew de Camera to "the prebend held by Alexander Fisicus in that Church, now vacant, and which belongs to the King's gift, owing to vacancy in the See of Ossory:" (*Calendar* I. pag. 159, n. 984) and a few days later another letter was despatched substituting Master Alexander de Suwell's appointment instead of that of Bartholomew de Camera.

Before the close of the year 1221 the difficulties that beset the election of Malveisin were removed by the Holy See. He then was recognized as Bishop by the Crown, and continued to govern the See till his death in 1231.

On the 19th of May, 1222, Pope Honorius the Third, addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Cashel, intimating that complaints had been made by the King to the effect that the Archbishop, notwithstanding an appeal to Rome, had issued "sentence of interdict against the King's subjects and lands by his own authority against the statutes of the General Council, and without reasonable cause." The

Pope adds that "if such be the case" the Archbishop shall remove the interdict within fifteen days, and otherwise the Bishops of Kildare, Meath, and Ossory, are commissioned to decide the controversy and to cause their decree to be observed by the Pope's authority. This Papal brief was duly presented to the Archbishop of Cashel, on the 30th of July. The King on his part wrote to the Bishops of Meath, and Ossory, on the 30th of July, 1222, setting forth that his controversy with the Archbishop regarded the new town of Cashel and the interdict which had been published by the Archbishop against the King's tenants and lands in Munster, Decies, and Desmond; and whilst appointing Henry, Archbishop of Dublin, to act as his Proctor in this controversy the King promises to accept the award of the above Bishops, and to permit it to be carried into effect.

Some other royal letters are preserved connected with the See during this episcopate. On the 13th of June, 1222, the King writes to the Archbishop of Dublin, Justiciary of Ireland, complaining that Peter, Bishop of Ossory, had seized on the lands in Kilfane held by Gilbert de Kentewell, acting on the report that the said Gilbert was dead: Gilbert, however, was in good health and in the King's service in England, and the King commands the Justiciary to see that his lands be restored to him, unless they had been seized for some other just cause. On July the 8th, 1226, the King again gave orders from Westminster that the assizes concerning the lands and fees of the Bishops of Ferns, Ossory, Kildare, and Leighlin, should be taken in the same form and place and before the same judges, as had been done "from the time when King John established English laws and customs in Ireland." In the following year, by letter of May the 21st, a royal grant was forwarded to the Justiciary of Ireland, that "in consequence of the poverty of the clergy" free power might be given to the proper parties to elect, instead of the King, to all vacant Sees, except Kildare, Ossory, Leighlin, Ferns, Meath, Emly, Limerick, Cork, Waterford, and Lismore. In the year 1229, on the 25th June, it was intimated to the Justiciary that the King had written among others to the Bishop of Ossory to collect the sixteenths from ecclesiastical benefices which had been promised, and to deliver the same into the royal treasury. In the beginning of March, 1231, after the death of the Bishop, the King, at the instance of the Archbishop of Dublin, granted license to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory to elect a successor,

"provided they attest by letters patent that no prejudice to the King shall thence arise," but that on future occasions they shall be bound to come to the King in England to demand such license. Before this letter was received the Dean and Chapter had sent their representatives to the Court, and on the 16th of March, 1231, license was issued "to the Chapter of Ossory to elect a Bishop in their Church, vacant by the death of Peter, late Bishop." (*Calendar*, I., page 278).

But few other particulars are preserved relating to Bishop Malveisin. He purchased the wood of Aghlony, near Clonmore, and the adjoining farm, and presented them to the See. In the Ormonde MSS. there is preserved an original letter of the Bishop to Theobald Walter, the younger, first chief Butler of Ireland, enjoining him under pain of excommunication to pay "in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice," a sum of 128 marks, for certain reasons therein set forth. (*Graves*, History of St. Canice's Cathedral, page 32). In the year 1225, he was witness to the grant made by William Marechal, junior, Earl of Pembroke, confirming to the Abbey of Duiske all that the former Earl, his father, had given. Bishop Malveisin himself confirmed to the same Abbey, the Church of Tullachany with its appurtenances, and the tithes of his own Grange, reserving a Mark yearly to the Church of Kilkenny; these tithes however were not to be paid till after the death of Odo, Dean of Kilkenny. This concession was originally made by Deed, by his predecessor, Hugh de Rous, and the Dean and Chapter on the one part, and the Abbot and Community of Duiske on the other, but was renewed for them by Malveisin, who also granted to them the Chapel of Athermolt and sundry other endowments.

WALTER DE BRACKLEY. A.D. 1232-1243.

Ware and Harris assign to William de Kilkenny a place among the Bishops of Ossory from 1229 to 1232. The Close and Patent Rolls of Henry the Third, however, attest that it was not till the month of March, 1631, that the license was granted to the Dean and Chapter to elect a Bishop; and we have further a Patent of June 25th, the same year, by which the Royal Assent was given "to the election made of Master William of Kilkenny, late Chancellor of the Church of Kilkenny, as Bishop of Ossory," with mandate to Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, to confirm his election. On the same day the Prior of Inistioge, and William le Grant were appointed by the King to hold during royal pleasure "the custody of the vacant See of Ossory," and

the usual instructions were forwarded to the knights and tenants of the See "to be intentive and respondent to Master William, of Kilkenny, when his election shall have been confirmed by the Archbishop of Dublin," and in the meantime to be obedient to the above custodians of the See. (*Calendar*, I. pag. 282). William of Kilkenny, however, seems never to have been confirmed by the Holy See, and never to have taken possession of the temporalities of Ossory. On the 8th of May, 1532, the King, by letter, again grants to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory, at the instance of his clerk, Walter de Brackley, their brother Canon, "license to elect a Bishop on the resignation of Master William of Kilkenny." The King further "prays that they elect a Pastor useful to the King and the Church, and devoted to the King and to Ireland." (*Ibid*, pag. 288). It is to be remarked that William is not called Bishop of Ossory in the royal letters, a clear proof that he had not been consecrated to the See. A little later, when the newly-consecrated Bishop, Walter de Brackley, was about to take possession of the temporalities of the See, a mandate was sent to the Justiciary of Ireland "to give to Walter, Bishop of Ossory, such seisin of the lands and tenements of the See as *Peter his predecessor* had at his death." (*Ibid*, pag. 322). The name of William de Kilkenny frequently appears in the subsequent Rolls. In December, 1250, we find him as Clerk and Canon of St. Canice's deputed by the Dean and Chapter to obtain license from the King for the election of a Bishop on the death of Geoffrey de Turville. In the following year he was made Archdeacon of Coventry, and as such witnessed at Windsor in 1251 various Irish grants made by the King to Maurice Fitzgerald and other Anglo-Norman noblemen, and a little later he was promoted to the See of Ely. In all these documents he is without further title designated William of Kilkenny. For these reasons I feel constrained to remove the name of this dignitary from the place hitherto assigned to him in the succession of the Bishops of Ossory.

We have seen that on the 1st of May, 1232, the Congê d'elire was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory to proceed to elect a Bishop for the vacant See. A letter of the King to Luke, Archbishop o Dublin, on the 14th of June, 1232, conveyed the royal assent to the election of Walter de Brackley as Bishop of Ossory, with a mandate to the Archbishop "to do what is his in this matter." (*Ibid*, pag 290.) Another royal letter was addressed on the following day to t e Bishop-elect, "discharging him "from all accounts and from all the tram-

mels of the court" for the time that he was on the King's service.

Walter de Brackley was Clerk of the Chamber to the King, and stood high in the Royal favour. In January, 1227, the King endeavoured to ensure his promotion to the See of Meath, and when he was baffled in this attempt, granted to him the custody of the temporalities of the See, and subsequently entrusted to him some negotiations of special trust and confidence. Only a few days before the royal assent was given to his election in the See of Ossory he was appointed one of the envoys of the King to arrange with Richard, Earl Marshal, the dower to be allotted in Ireland to Eleanor, Countess of Pembroke, the King's sister.

There are several royal letters referring to this Bishop. On March 24th, 1233, the King's protection was granted him, and soon after a like protection for two years was granted to his brothers Robert Fitz Alured and Jordan Fitz Alured. On the 25th of March, the same year, a mandate was issued to the Treasurer of Ireland to permit "Walter, Bishop-elect of Ossory," to have the free administration of all the temporalities of the See, and to enjoy the fruits of the See from the time that the custody of the See had been granted him. On the 15th of July, 1233, another letter was addressed to the Treasurer directing him to take counsel with "Walter, Bishop of Ossory," regarding expenses to be incurred in the building of the bridge of Athlone, and other matters of the King's interest. In August, 1235, the King wrote to our Bishop and to the Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishops of Ferns and Meath, thanking them for the services they had rendered to the State, and for remaining faithful to the Crown whilst so many others had swerved from fealty.

For several years a troublesome law-suit was carried on by Gilbert Earl Marechal against our Bishop, relating to the manor of Dervagh (Durrow). The first proceedings were taken by the Earl in 1234, but the royal favour seems for a time to have protected the Bishop in this suit. The law-suit, however, was renewed, and a letter of the King to the Justiciary of Ireland, on the 22nd of March, 1238, gives some important details. Gilbert, it says, having impleaded the Bishop in the King's Court at Dublin, "touching the Bishop's manor at Dervagh, the Bishop took exception that he was not bound to answer, because William Marechal, late Earl of Pembroke, Gilbert's father, gave by his charter, now produced, to Hugh, formerly Bishop

of Ossory, a release of all plaints touching lands and tenements. This charter was not denied in the court; neverthless the King's Justices proceeded in the plea. The King thereupon commanded that the Justiciary should not allow the Bishop to be injured in the King's Court, and that the plaint should not proceed. The King, however, having learnt from the Earl that the Bishop did not produce the charter in court, commands the Justiciary to grant oyer of the charter if produced, and according to its tenor to do what ought to be done in conformity with the custom of Ireland: otherwise the Justiciary shall cause the plaint to proceed according to the tenor of the King's writ therein." (Calendar, page 364).) This controversy seems to have been settled during the episcopate of de Brackley's successor, who purchased the manor from the Earl Marechal, and erected on it an episcopal palace.

In the year 1237, our Bishop assisted at the dedication of the Abbey Church of Peterborough, in England, on which occasion he granted there an Indulgence of ten days. He likewise was reckoned among the benefactors of the famous Abbey of St. Alban's, and he is said to have granted to those who would visit it a special Indulgence of fourteen days. He appears to have lived for the most part far away from his See. There is a letter of Pope Gregory the Ninth addressed to him on the 18th of May, 1241, reminding him of the duty of residence, and admonishing him to return to his See without further delay. Regest. an. xiv. 15. Calend. Jun.

Ware places the death of the Bishop on the 5th of December, 1243. It would seem, however, that he was gathered to his fathers some months sooner, for there is a letter of the King addressed to Maurice Fitzgerald, the Justiciary of Ireland, on the 28th of October, 1243, with mandate that as "Walter, Bishop of Ossory, was dead," he would take into the King's hands, and cause to be safely kept, all the property of the See.

GEOFFREY DE TURVILLE. A.D. 1244-1250.

The formal license to elect a Bishop for the vacant See was granted on the 5th of February, 1244. The deceased Bishop had been a Canon of St. Canice's before his election to the See, and it would appear that he had retained the prebend during his Episcopate, for on the 9th of March, 1244, a royal grant was issued conferring on William de Burgh that prebend "vacant by the death of Walter, late Bishop of Ossory,

which is of the King's gift, owing to the vacancy in that See." On June the 10th, the same year, de Turville witnessed some grants made by the King, and is styled, "Walter, Elect of Ossory." A few days later (13th June) a letter from the King notified to the Justiciary of Ireland the royal assent to the "election of Geoffrey de Turville, late Archdeacon of Dublin, as Bishop of Ossory." The letter adds: "Although Luke, Archbishop of Dublin, in order to avoid, as it is said, imminent peril to the Church of Ossory, has confirmed the Archdeacon before he was presented to the King, and before his election received the royal assent, as is the custom in Ireland and England, the King commands the Justiciary to give seisin to the Bishop-elect of the lands of the See, having first received letters from the Archbishop, &c., and from the Dean and Chapter of Ossory, that no prejudice shall be caused to the King by this confirmation, and that it shall not be used as a precedent." (*Calendar* I., pag.402.)

It was not till the 17th of October, 1244, that the royal Letters were despatched to the Justiciary of Ireland to give the Bishop-elect possession of the See and its temporalities. De Turville, however, continued to act as the Treasurer of the King in Ireland, an office which was also held by his immediate successor in the See. In some of the royal letters connected with this office whilst it was held by de Turville matters are introduced which are not without some interest. At one time we have an order forwarded to him for two pieces of cloth *del Areste* to make two copes to be placed in the King's two chapels in Ireland. At another time (November 13th, 1245,) there is a mandate to the Keeper of the mint to give to the Bishop of Ossory "a silver chalice of the weight of 15 or 16 shillings" in exchange for the chalice which the Bishop had given to the King for the castle of Gannok. On the same day an order was issued to the bailiffs of Bristol to have a ship in readiness for the Bishop of Ossory, Treasurer of Ireland, for his passage to Ireland. On August the 4th, 1246, there is a mandate to the Justiciary and to "Geoffry, Bishop of Ossory, Treasurer of Ireland," to pay out of the treasure in Ireland, to the messenger of the Abbot of Re, of the Cistercian Order, 60 marks in compensation for the damage which the Abbey sustained when the King's troops took possession of the Island of Re, on the occasion that the King was passing by it on his way to Gascony.

De Turville, before his appointment to the See, discharged for a

time the duties of Deputy Chancellor, and was subsequently appointed by the King to the important office of Chancellor of Ireland. After his consecration he availed himself of his influence with the Crown to obtain several favours for his people. In 1245 a grant was made to him of a yearly fair in his manor of Kilkenny, to last for eight days, commencing on the day after the octave of the Feast of the Holy Trinity. A weekly market on Wednesday was also granted to Kilkenny, and at his request several concessions were made for fairs and markets at Aghaboe, Durrow, Tescoffin, and Clonmore.

On the 23rd of April, 1246, the King addressed to him a remarkable letter, thanking him for his indefatigable labours in attending to the King's business. The King, it is added, "well remembers the immense labour, the no small odium, and the contumely which the Bishop had endured: and as to what he had advised that the King should order William de Chaeney, Seneschal of Leinster, to suspend for the present the use and sealing of writs of course and the taking of assizes, the King has ordered this to be done: and as the Bishop has notified that there is in Leinster a larger supply of wine and corn than elsewhere in Ireland, the King has written to the Seneschal to send him 300 hogsheads of wine and a similar supply of corn, and the Bishop receives an order to cause ten ships to be seized to convey the said wine and corn to the King in Wales by the ensuing feast of Pentecost." The Bishop had petitioned for the custody of the manor of Aghaboe, which the late Earl Marshall had held from his predecessors. The King declares that he would willingly grant this petition, "but to do so would be prejudicial to the King, because it would form a precedent, and other persons as well of the Kingdom of England as of the land of Ireland would petition for similar custodies."

We have seen that a considerable time elapsed after the death of the preceding Bishop before the election and final appointment of de Turville. A letter of Pope Innocent the Fourth, on the 2nd of March, 1244, to the Archbishop of Armagh, throws some light upon the cause of this delay. It sets forth that grave dissensions had arisen in the Diocese of Ossory in regard to the election of a Bishop to fill the vacant See, and it enjoins on the Archbishop of Armagh, "quatenus illis ad quos Episcopi spectat electio, auctoritate nostra expresse praecipias ut duos ex ipsis cum pleno mandato providendi

eidem Ecclesiae de consilio nostro ad nostram non differant praesentiam destinare." It had been further reported to the Holy See that an Ecclesiastic had already been formally proposed for the See of Ossory. Should this be the case the Pope directs that the individual so proposed shall be commanded to present himself without delay in person at the Roman Court.

Two Briefs of the same Pope were despatched from Lyons to Ireland on the 24th September, 1250. One was addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops. The King of England, it said, had forwarded complaints to the Pontiff of an ordinance of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, by which they and their Chapters had resolved to exclude Englishmen from the Irish Benefices. Such an ordinance the Pope declares to be unjust, and he directs that it be annulled within a month from the receipt of this Letter. The second Brief was addressed to the Archbishop of Dublin and to the Bishop of Ossory, and empowered them, should the Archbishops and Bishops fail to cancel the said ordinance within the prescribed time, to declare by Apostolic authority after the lapse of that period, such ordinance to be null and void: "vos extunc auctoritate nostra idem statutum denuncietis irritum et inane. (Liber Munerum, vol. 1, part 4, pag. 55-56.).

Other Letters of the same Pontiff were addressed to de Turville, removing individuals of illegitimate birth from Benefices to which which they had been unduly promoted in the diocese of Ossory, and commanding others to fulfil the obligations to which they were in duty bound towards the said Bishop.

The Archives of the Corporation of Kilkenny preserve among their most valuable deeds and charters the original grant made by Bishop Geoffrey about the year 1244 to the Friars Preachers of the Black Abbey, of a supply of water from St. Canice's well for the use of the religious of the monastery. The stipulation is added that the circumference of the water-pipe at the well should not be larger than that of the Bishop's ring, and at the end, where it enters the monastery, it should be only of such a size that it could be stopped by a man's little finger. A fac simile of this interesting concession has been printed by Gilbert in the Irish National MSS. series, vol. 2, n. lxxii. It still retains a considerable portion of the Bishop's seal. On the obverse is partly visible the figure of a prelate robed and holding

a crozier in his left hand; and on the reverse is the Blessed Virgin and child, with an ecclesiastic kneeling before them in the attitude of prayer. A ring of copper is attached to the seal to mark the size of the Bishop's ring. This interesting record reads as follows:—

"Omnibus Christi fidelibus praesens scriptum visuris vel audituris, Galfridus Dei gratia Ossoriensis Episcopus aeternam in Domino salutem.

Noveritis nos de consensu et assensu Decani et capituli Ecclesiae nostrae Sancti Kanici de Kylkenni caritative concessisse et hoc praesenti scripto confirmasse Fratribus Praedicatoribus in villa Kylkenni commorantibus conductum aquae de fonte nostro qui vocatur fons Sancti Kannici, ita quod canalis eorum ubi suscipit aquam de fonte sit de rotunditate et largitate annuli nostri cujus exemplar reservatur in Thesauraria nostra praedictae ecclesiae, et in fine ubi aqua exibit in domo dictorum fratrum possit extremitate minoris digiti hominis obturari. Concessimus etiam eisdem fratribus liberam potestatem praeparandi fontem praedictum meliori modo quo potuerint ad praedictum conductum suum faciendum, ita tamen quod per ipsos aqua non impediatur ad molendinum (usque) decurrens nisi quantum caput praedictae canalis recipit eisdem a nobis concessae secundum formam praedictam. Et ut haec nostra concessio et donatio perpetuae firmitatis robur obtineat praesenti scripto Sigillum nostrum una cum sigillo capituli nostri memorati apponi fecimus, His testibus Henrico de Penroche tunc decano cathedrali, magistro Galfrido de Sancto Leodegario thesaurario nostrae Ecclesiae praedictae et officiali, magistro Waltero de Wasefordia, Johanne Duffo canonicis Ecclesiae praedictae, Rogero Beugant eorum concanonico, Nicholao de Wych clerico nostro et multis aliis."

Two of those who were witnesses of this deed were subsequently Bishops of the See.

Ware writes that De Turville died in London about the feast of All Saints, 1250, and was buried in the Inner-Temple Church, to which he had granted an Indulgence of thirty-five days. His death, however, must have taken place before the 18th of October, 1250, as on that day a mandate was issued to the Justiciary of Ireland to the effect that "having received from the executors of Geoffrey, late Bishop of Ossory, security that out of the first chattels of the deceased they shall satisfy debts due to the King and moneys of the Crusaders, if

the Bishop received any during his life, the Justiciary shall cause the executors to have free administration of the goods and chattels of the deceased." (*Calendar* I, pag. 460.) Six months later another mandate was sent to the Justiciary permitting "the Prior of Conall and the other executors" of the deceased Bishop to have administration of his property.

HUGH DE MAPILTON. A.D. 1251-1258.

Hugh de Mapilton was Archdeacon of Glendaloch, and for that reason is sometimes styled Hugh of Glendalogh. Before his elevation to the See he enjoyed the royal favour and discharged many important trusts. Soon after his promotion to Ossory he was appointed Treasurer of Ireland, and he continued to discharge the duties of that office till his death. In consideration of his faithful discharge of these onerous duties in the service of the Crown he received from the King a gift of the manor of Obruy in the Diocese of Dublin.

The license to elect a Bishop for the vacant See was granted to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory on the 12th of December, 1250. It was not, however, till the 17th of April following that the Royal assent was given to the election of Hugh de Mapilton, with mandate to the Archbishop of Dublin to proceed to his consecration. On the 15th of May, 1551, other royal letters were issued, granting "protection for three years from Michaelmas for Hugh, Bishop of Ossory." (*Calendar* I., pag. 406).

This Bishop has been reckoned among the most munificent benefactors of the See of Ossory. He erected an Episcopal mansion at Aghour (Freshford), which he adorned in princely style, the fish-ponds, which were formed in the grounds, being particularly mentioned by the old chronicler. He also undertook, at considerable expense, to rebuild the Cathedral of St. Canice, but he did not live to complete this great work. He, moreover, established and endowed two Prebends in the Cathedral Church. Lynch adds that these were the first Prebends instituted there for Cathedral service.

We learn from the royal letters that the King at this time received from the Pope a grant, in aid of the Holy Land, of a tenth of ecclesiastical profits in Ireland, with various other Church revennes, to date from the day when the King assumed the Cross the badge of the Crusaders. The Archbishop of Armagh, and the Bishops of Meath, Ossory, and Kildare, and their officials, acting on letters which

they had received from the Pope, impeded, it is said, the collection of these revenues "to the disparagement of the kingly dignity." This the King now informs them was quite contrary to the Pope's intent, and he commands them to aid the royal collectors, "otherwise they will incur the displeasure as well of the Pope as of the King, with the loss of their temporalities." (*Calendar* II., pag. 37).

The last letter addressed by the Crown to the Bishop bears date the 22nd of October, 1258. It deputes him and the Justiciary of Ireland to receive the oath of fealty of Simon of Kilkenny, Bishop-elect of Kildare, and to restore the temporalities to him when confirmed. This letter serves to fix the time of the Bishop's death. Ware, who conjecturally marks his death in 1256, adds that he was buried in his own Cathedral, near S. Mary's Chapel, and that a monument was there erected to him, adorned with his statue of exquisite workmanship.

HUGH, O.S.D., A.D. 1258-1260.

Ware attests that in the Archives of the Church of Ossory a Dominican friar, named Hugh, is given as Successor of de Mapilton. In 1225, the Dominican Order had been introduced into Kilkenny, and their beautiful church at the Black Abbey had been erected through the munificence of William Earl Marechal, junior. The Bishop proved himself a patron and benefactor of his Religious Brethren. He released to them a head rent paid from two holdings in their possession in Friars'-street, near the Black Abbey. He also granted to them the custody of St. Canice's Holy Well, which was much frequented by pilgrims and by the citizens. Lynch writes that "multa sui ordinis fratribus Kilkenniæ contulit," and adds, regarding St. Canice's well, that many persons in his day continued to visit it through piety or in search of health. He further attests that many miraculous cures were every day effected by using this water and invoking St. Canice's aid, and, in particular, he mentions the following instance of the Saint's protection: A young lady, the daughter of a wealthy citizen, had, on a festival day, decked herself in her richest attire, but in the proximity of the holy well was assaulted by a wretched woman who sought to strangle her, that thus she might seize on her precious ornaments with impunity. The Saint, however appearing to the assassin at the moment of the assault, put the wicked woman to flight.

Bishop Hugh died in the year 1260, in the second year of his Episcopate, and was buried in the Black Abbey Church, near the High Altar.

GEOFFREY ST. LEGER. A.D. 1260-1287.

This Prelate was descended from a noble Anglo-Norman family, and, at the time of his appointment to the See held the office of Treasurer of St. Canice's Cathedral. The royal assent to his election as Bishop of Ossory was given on the 29th of June, 1260. On the 7th of July following the King commissioned the Justiciary of Ireland to receive the fealty of the Bishop-elect and to restore to him the temporalities of the See. The Archbishop of Dublin, however, was absent in Rome, and, there being some delay in the consecration of our Prelate, another writ giving possession of the temporalities was issued on the 30th of August. It must have been no sinecure in those troubled times to guard these temporalities of the See. When a few years later the King's escheator in Ireland presented his accounts for settlement there was an item of £20 10s., a large sum in those days, which he had "paid for the expenses of horse-soldiers who guarded the bishoprics of Kildare, Connor, Ossory, Ferns, and Tuam during the vacancy of the Sees." (*Calendar* II. 130.)

One of the chief works that shed lustre on the Episcopate of St. Leger was the completion of the Cathedral of St. Canice, which justly ranks among the noblest monuments of Anglo-Norman architecture ever erected in this island. On account of his many merits in regard to this great work St. Leger is styled in contemporary records "the second founder of the Cathedral." He also expended large sums in completing and adorning the Episcopal palaces at Freshford and Durrow. He founded the College of Vicars Choral, assigning to them the Episcopal City Mansion, with the Common Hall and other buildings near the Cathedral, and he imposed on them the obligation to celebrate his anniversary and the anniversaries of his immediate predecessors.

Throughout his Episcopate he was engaged in various lawsuits respecting the possessions of his See. He exchanged the town of Stomcarty for the town of Killamery with the Earl of Pembroke. In the year 1278, Eudo la Tuche and Milisent, his wife, claimed the right of presentation to the Church of Aghaboe, and impleaded the Bishop for £1,000 for appointing to that benefice without their presentation.

The Bishop did not question the right of presentation acquired by Eudo, through his wife, Milisent, but pleaded that on the vacancy of the benefice no presentation had been made to him within four months, and that term having elapsed he had conferred the benefice on William in conformity with the decrees of the Council of Lateran. A novel plea, however, was then advanced by Eudo, to the effect that it was an established custom in England for Bishops not to confer benefices by authority of the Council of Lateran, except after a lapse of not less than six months, and that "Ireland ought to be governed by the laws and customs prevailing in England." St. Leger probably felt that the Court would accept this plea, and accordingly we find the suit amicably arranged in May 1278. The Bishop cancelled the appointment which he had made to Aghaboe, and accepted the presentation of Eudo; whilst on the other hand his opponents withdrew all claim for damages. (*Calendar* II., 275).

In 1248, the Bishop sought to recover from the hands of some Anglo-Norman usurpers the manor of Seir-Kieran, which he justly regarded as the cradle of the See. The justice of his claim was apparent to everyone; but the documents to support it in the courts of law were not forthcoming, and the usurpers of the manor refused to surrender it. He accordingly appealed to the trial of single combat, in accordance with the jurisprudence of those times, and being victorious in the combat the manor of Seir-Kieran was restored to the See. Ware is of opinion that the Bishop himself was not required to engage in personal combat, and that a champion was appointed by each of the contending parties. It is to be hoped that it was so, but this construction of the old law of trial by combat is not at all so clear, and it is not improbable that the Anglo-Norman Bishops of the 13th century were no less skilful than the Barons of the kingdom in the use of the sword and spear. It was probably in consequence of this contest that it was deemed expedient to issue royal letters on the 22nd of July, 1284, granting "simple protection for three years to Geoffry, Bishop of Ossory." (*Calendar* II, p. 521.)

In 1261, the Sovereign Pontiff, Urban the Fourth, addressed letters of grave remonstrance to King Henry the Third concerning the ever-growing encroachments of the officials of the State on the spiritual authority. They not only assumed to themselves to decide questions which belonged to the ecclesiastical domain, but they set

at nought the authority of the church, and encouraged the people to disregard the decisions and the sentences of excommunication issued by the spiritual courts. These abuses were particularly complained of in the Diocese of Dublin, and its suffragan Sees, and the Pontiff exhorts the king that as he desired his own temporal authority to be respected by both clergy and people, and as he hoped that the blessing of God would be with him in his various enterprises, he would not permit the rights of the spiritual authority to be violated with impunity nor those privileges to be set at nought which had been so wisely sanctioned by both Church and State. (See the Pontifical Brief in full, in *Liber Munerum*, vol. 1, part 4, page 57, 58.) What may have been the immediate result of this letter, we have now no means to determine. Certain, however, it is that in the next reign the Government continued to show an extreme jealousy of the spiritual authority, and when Bishop St. Leger, in 1277, proceeded to England on his way to Rome, a royal mandate was issued prohibiting his journey to foreign parts without the king's special licence; and when despite that mandate the Bishop set out for Rome the temporalities of his See were at once seized by order of the King. From a royal letter addressed to the Dean and Chapter of Ossory on February the second, 1278, we further learn that the king, "at the request of Napoleon, Cardinal Deacon of the Holy Roman Church," had of special grace restored the temporalities to the Bishop, "provided that he should submit to the king regarding his contempt and transgression, and should answer therefor at the King's pleasure. The Dean and Chapter, however, were represented not to have complied with the royal order to restore the temporalities which were in their custody; wherefore the King renews his command to them, and further directs that all the proceeds of such temporalities since the 10th of the preceding May be restored to the Bishop." (*Calendar* II. pag. 269.)

Ware attests that St. Leger did a great deal for the benefit of the burgesses "of the Cross, in the Irishtown of Kilkenny." He died in January, 1287, after an Episcopate of twenty-six years, and was buried in the Cathedral, near Bishop Mapilton, in a monument adorned with his statue of curious workmanship. Dowling in his Annals of Ireland, styles him "Episcopus Ossoriae famosus."

ROGER OF WEXFORD. A.D. 1287-1289.

By Royal Letter of June 22nd, 1287, the King intimated to

"Stephen, Archbishop of Tuam, Justiciary of Ireland, that he gives the royal assent to the election lately celebrated in the Cathedral Church of St. Canice of Kilkenny, of Roger of Wexford, Dean of St. Canice, as Bishop of that Church." It is added that "the King as a special grace to Roger on account of the dangers of the journey, and in order to spare him labour and expense, commands the Justiciary that if it appears to him by letters sealed with the seal of John, Archbishop of Dublin, that the election has been confirmed according to custom, he shall take fealty from and restore the temporalities to the Bishop-elect, having first received letters of the Church of Ossory that this grace shall not tend to the King's prejudice nor be converted into a precedent." (*Calendar* III. 142.)

On the same day another royal letter was addressed "to the Bishop-elect, the consecrated Bishop, or the custodian of the spirituality of Ossory." It set forth that the prebend which the King had lately conferred on Geoffrey de Haspale, in the Church of Kilkenny, which was of the King's gift by reason of the vacancy of the See, having again become vacant by de Haspale's death, the King had conferred it on John Gerard.

Roger was consecrated in St. Canice's Church in Kilkenny, together with Thomas St. Leger, Bishop of Meath, on the 3rd of November, 1287, by John Sandford, Archbishop of Dublin. He died on the 28th of June, 1289, and is said to have been buried in his own Cathedral.

MICHAEL OF EXETER. A.D. 1289-1302.

Michael of Exeter, a Canon of the Cathedral of Kilkenny, was elected Bishop on the 27th of September, 1289. The Dean and Chapter of St. Canice, in the letter notify to the King that having obtained the royal license they had elected "their brother Canon, Michael of Exeter, bishop: they pray that the King will give his royal assent to this election and that he will direct his letters thereupon to the Archbishop of Dublin." The letter is dated from "their Chapter of Kilkenny, the Tuesday next before the feast of Michaelmas" (*i.e.* 27th Sept.) On the 2nd of November following, the royal assent was given to this election; and on the same day the mandate to the Justiciary was issued for the temporalities of the See, as the King wished, "on account of the good and laudable testimony afforded him regarding the Bishop-elect, to render him a more abundant grace and

to spare him labour and expense." (*Calendar*, iii. 248.)

Bishop Michael was consecrated before the close of the year, and during his Episcopate gave proof of liberality to the Canons of his Church. Among other things he ordained that all the lands and possessions belonging to his Canons, or which would be hereafter acquired by them, should be free from all rent due to him or his successors, and should also be held free and acquitted from all suits of court and secular demands.

A patent from Westminster, regarding our Prelate, the 26th of March, 1292, gives us a curious insight into some of the difficulties which beset the administration of the See in those disturbed times. The patent runs thus: "Whereas, according to the custom in the land of Ireland it is not allowed to any person despoiled of his goods by his and the King's Irish enemies to receive amends, or otherwise to make peace with them: and whereas Michael, Bishop of Ossory, and his predecessors of that See, have been much impoverished by such spoliations, the king, in order to save him and his church from being injured by this custom, grants that when depredations are made on him by the Irish he may treat with them, he may receive amends, or get back his goods by making peace." (*Calendar* iii. 466: and for the original text *Liber Munerum*, vol. 1, part 4, pag. 60). In the month of October, the same year, this Bishop was called to the Privy Council, the King judging "that his presence in giving counsel and in treating of the King's affairs would be very useful to the King." Clyn, in his Annals under the year 1302, has the entry: "About the feast of Pentecost died Michael, Bishop of Ossory, who was succeeded by William FitzJohn, consecrated at Kilkenny within the octave of the Epiphany."

WILLIAM FITZ JOHN, A.D., 1302—1317.

William Fitz John, a Canon of St. Canice's Cathedral, was, by his brother canons, elected to the vacant See, and his election received the sanction of the Crown, on the 24th of October, 1302. He was consecrated in his own cathedral on the Sunday within the octave of the Epiphany, A.D., 1303. "Dominica infra octavam Epiphaniæ." *Lynch's MS.* There appears to have been some misunderstanding about the temporalities of the See, for they were not finally restored to him till the 9th of May, long after his consecration. It is recorded regarding this Prelate that he appropriated the church of Clara to

the Abbey of Canons of St. John the Evangelist, at Kilkenny, reserving an annual pension of twenty shillings to the Vicars Choral of his Cathedral. King Edward the First, by letter of the 13th April, 1305, informed the Bishop of Ossory and the other Bishops of Ireland of the death of Joan, Queen of France, and asked them to have prayers offered for her repose. Clyn, in his Annals, styles our Bishop "a man powerful, wealthy, and venerable in the estimation alike of the clergy and people." In 1309 a Parliament was held in Kilkenny composed of the King's Council, the Anglo-Norman Lords, two Knights of each county, and two burgesses from every city and borough of the English colony. One of the enactments of this Parliament set forth that the distress which prevailed was due to the exactions of the great Anglo-Norman lords who continually despoiled the country people, sojourned in their homes, and quartered their kerns or soldiers upon them, without payment or reimbursement of any kind. This was declared to be open robbery, and the Parliament accorded to the Crown the right of suit in such cases, as the people themselves dare not seek redress. However, this most wise enactment was from the outset a dead letter. Whilst Bishop of Ossory Fitz John held for a time the office of Chancellor of Ireland, as we learn from the King's Letter, to which we will just now refer. He was translated by the Pope to the See of Cashel, before Easter, in the year 1317. The sanction of the King was given on the 1st of April, and the Brief granting the Pallium for that See bears date the 23rd of December the same year.

It was a time of great anxiety for the English Government. Edward Bruce had landed on the coast of Antrim in 1315, and great numbers throughout all Ireland adhered to his cause. At first his forces observed strict discipline, and were victorious in every conflict. After a time, however, they began to plunder the monasteries and other religious houses, and the country wherever they passed presented a scene of confusion and desolation. At length he was defeated and slain in a decisive battle near Dundalk, 1318. It was whilst the terror of this invasion was at its height that the See of Cashel became vacant. No fewer than three persons were elected to fill that important See. The Dean and the majority of the Canons assembled at Kilmallock, in the County of Limerick, chose John MacCarwell, Bishop of Cork, for their Archbishop. Some of the Canons, however,

convened a meeting in St. Patrick's Cathedral at Cashel, and elected Thomas, who was Archdeacon of Cashel. These two candidates were Irishmen, but the King had a candidate of his own, and used every endeavour that Geoffrey de Ailham, an English Franciscan, would be advanced to the Archbishopric. The Holy See in the meantime had chosen the Bishop of Ossory to be translated to the Archiepiscopal See, and the King, knowing his many merits and his devoted attachment to the Crown, sanctioned his appointment, and soon after made him Deputy-Governor of Ireland. Writing to the Pope on the 4th of August, 1317, the King, after expressing his gratitude for the constant kindness shown by his Holiness, adds: "Super eo siquidem, Pater Sancte, quod venerabilem patrem Willielmum nuper Ossoriensem Episcopum, Cancellarium nostrum Hiberniae, Anglicum, quem morum probitas, probata fidelitas, vitae sanctitas, litterarum scientia aliaque virtutum merita gratiose reddunt multipliciter commendatum, nuper de Ecclesia Ossoriensi ad Ecclesiam Casselensem nostri intuitu transtulistis præficiendo ipsum in ipsius Ecclesiæ Casselensis archiepiscopum et pastorem, et venerabilem patrem fratrem Richardum de ordine Minorum, similiter Anglicum, in dictæ Ossoriensis Ecclesiæ episcopum præficiendo, ipsumque faciendo in ejusdem ecclesiæ episcopum consecrari, Vestræ Sanctitatis clementiæ ad gratias assurgimus quas valemus." (*Liber Munerum*, i., part 4, pag. 64.)

Archbishop FitzJohn after his translation from Ossory governed the See of Cashel for nine years. Among other works he encompassed the city of Cashel with a wall, which in later times was of good service to the citizens.

RICHARD LEDRED. A.D. 1317-1360.

An old List of the Bishops of Ossory, cited by Ware in his "History of the Irish Bishops," makes mention of a certain Peter who was appointed to succeed Bishop FitzJohn in the See of Ossory. He was probably a mere nominee of the Crown, and may have held, perhaps, the temporalities, but it does not appear that he received Canonical appointment, or was ever consecrated Bishop of this See.

The Franciscan Friar, John Clynn, who lived at Kilkenny at this very time, gives us the entry in 1317: "William Fitz John, Bishop of Ossory, is translated to the Archbishopric of Cashel, in whose room is substituted Friar Richard Ledred, who was consecrated by the Pope

at Avignon, where the Roman Court then abode, on the 8th of Kalends of May."

Richard Ledred was an English Franciscan from London, and being appointed to the See of Ossory by Pope John XXII. in the month of April, 1317, he was a few days later consecrated Bishop by Cardinal Nicholas, Bishop of Ostia. This is expressly attested in the Papal Brief notifying his appointment, published by Theiner in *Vet. Monumenta*, pag. 195, and dated the 24th of April, 1317. Ware places his consecration in the year 1318, but in this he certainly is mistaken, as the King's letter of August, 1317, already cited, as well as the Pontifical Brief just referred to, prove beyond doubt that he was duly consecrated in the year 1317. The printed Annals of Clynn, indeed, mark 1318 as the date of his consecration, but this is a mere misprint or clerical error, as the entries which precede and which follow the one in question have the true date, 1317, prefixed. The Roman Archives preserve Bishop Ledred's promissory note, dated the 27th of April, 1317, by which he engaged to pay the usual tax of seven hundred florins to the Camera Apostolica. Immediately after his consecration he hastened to his See, and we find that within the octave of St. Michael's feast (29th of September) he held at Kilkenny a full Synod of the clergy of Ossory, wherein several wise constitutions were enacted, which are published by Wilkins. (*Concilia*, tom. 2, pag. 501.) In these Constitutions the Bishop and Clergy lament the sad decay of faith and piety now witnessed among the Anglo-Norman settlers. These colonists appear, indeed, to have retained little more than the name of Christians, for they are described as "imbued with the devil's spirit," robbing the Church of Ossory, and more cruel than the Jews or the Pagans, paying no respect to the Clergy, but "harrassing them in the secular courts and menacing them when they attempted to exercise canonical jurisdiction." That it is not the Irish but the Anglo-Normans against whom these terrible charges are levelled is manifestly set forth when the culprits are designated, "gens pestifera novella in quibusdam partibus nostris ab aliis terræ fidelibus discrepans."

Bishop Ledred soon after this Synod undertook the visitation of the Diocese, which was at this time the chief stronghold of the Anglo-Norman colonists. In a report which he forwarded to the Sovereign Pontiff he declared that many of these nominal Christians were worse

than Pagans, ignorant of the teachings of faith, but abounding in blasphemy and errors. Pope Benedict the Twelfth wrote to King Edward the Third on the 6th of November, 1335, complaining of this sad condition of things, and he refers in detail to a few of the errors which, as he had been informed by the Bishop of Ossory, were prevalent among the colonists: "Some of them, he says, asserted that our Saviour was a sinful man, and was deservedly crucified for his own sins: others paid homage and offered sacrifice to demons: others affirmed that the Sacrament of the Altar was not to be worshipped nor adored: others denied that obedience was due to the decrees and decretals of the Apostolic See: and further they endeavoured to turn away the faithful from the Sacraments of the Church of Christ to consult the demons after the manner of the Pagans." (*Lynch's* MS. History: and *Theiner*, Vet. Monum, pag. 269.) From which statement of errors, the Pontiff concludes: "hæc labes hæretica intermixta fidelium cœtibus fedat illos, hic morbus sui pudore contagii proximos fideles inficit adhærentes, et hoc pestiferum aconitum serpens interimit animas illius pestilentia infectorum."

In the year 1324, commenced the famous trial of Dame Alice Kyteler which in its vicissitudes and varied details forms one of the most curious episodes of the history of these times. It will not be necessary for me to treat of it at any length, as it has been already fully described in the first volume of the Transactions of the Ossory Archæological Society, by the late Mr. Morrin, whose death our Society deeply deplores. Dame Kyteler, and William Utlagh or Outlaw (who was her son by her first husband), and two accomplices named Petronilla and Basil, were the principal persons accused. Their trial was held before the Ecclesiastical court, but there were also present the Justiciary of Ireland, and Arnold le Poer, seneschal of Kilkenny, and with them was Roger Outlaw, Prior of Kilmainham and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, a near relative of more than one of the accused parties. From the statements made at the trial, it appears that Dame Kyteler and William Outlaw, were supposed to have amassed immense sums of money by usury and money-lending, and it was generally asserted that, renouncing their faith, they had dealt extensively in fortune-telling and demon-worship, and trafficking in charms and philtres. For these charms they made use of the brains and clothes of children who had died

without baptism, which they mixed with a thousand other horrid things, seethed together in the skull of an executed thief, and to all this they added their incantations with sacrifices to the devil. The accused were all found guilty on various counts. Dame Kyteler consulted for her safety by flight and spent her remaining years in England. William Outlaw acknowledged his fault and abjured his heresy in St. Mary's Church, but relapsing was sentenced as part of his punishment to cover completely with lead, at his own expense, the chancel and all the rest of the Cathedral of St. Canice's, from the belfry eastward, as well as the chancel and the entire chapel of the Blessed Virgin in the same church. All this was promised but not fulfilled, and hence to save him from worse punishment, we find his relative, the Lord Chancellor, binding himself soon after as security that within four years the agreement would be fulfilled under a penalty of 1000 marks which was a very large sum in those days. As regards the other persons accused, Petronilla died at the stake, but Basil joined Dame Kyteler in her flight. Harris in his Additions to Ware's History of the Bishops makes here a statement which impairs his authority not a little in regard to other matters which he narrates. He thus writes: "John Clynn who was friar at that time in Kilkenny, and must be supposed to know the fact, placeth the trial in 1324, and says that Lady Alice (Kyteler) suffered death for heresy." Now the Annals of Friar Clynn though almost inaccessible in Harris's time have been published in our own days by the Irish Archæological Society, and every one now may see there for himself, that no such statement is made as that imputed to him by Harris. Of Dame Kyteler the Annalist writes: "Propter sortilegia diversa et haeresim multimodam et sacrificia daemonibus immolata, est haeretica judicata, probata, et condemnata:" but of Petronilla he says: "Fuit de haeresi, sortilegio, et sacrificio daemonibus immolato, condemnata et igni tradita et combusta:" and he immediately adds: "A retro autem actis temporibus non est visum vel auditum, quod quispiam pro haeresi poenam mortis sustineret in Hibernia." (*Annals* etc., pag. 16). I will merely add that Stanihurst and the Annals published by Camden, expressly attest the flight of Dame Kyteler. Some modern writers too have censured the Four Masters for making no reference to this trial in their "Annals of Ireland" and yet a probable reason for their silence may not be far to seek. All the actors in the trial were without exception Anglo-Normans, and their trial and its punishments were carried out in accordance with the Norman laws.

There was nothing Irish about the whole transaction, and the Annalists may very justly have concluded that it did not deserve a place in their Annals of Ireland.

Mr. Thomas Wright, who edited for the Camden Club in 1843, the "Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler," endeavours in the introduction to bring home to the Catholic Church, the sentence of death which was pronounced against Petronilla and some others accused of witchcraft in those days. He should much rather have laid the blame at the door of his own English countrymen, and it is a strange thing to find that in England and Scotland the crime of witchcraft continued to be punished with death, long after the Reformation period, when such punishments had been altogether abolished throughout the Continent. Lecky, in his History of England in the 18th century, writes that "in no part of the British Empire were prosecutions for witchcraft so frequent, so persistent, and so ferocious as in Scotland, and it was to the Ministers that the persecution was mainly due. Hundreds of wretched women have, on this ground, been burnt in Scotland since the Reformation, and final sentence was preceded by tortures so horrible, various and prolonged, that several persons died through the torment. The last execution for witchcraft, as well as the last execution for heresy, in the British Empire, took place in Presbyterian Scotland. As late as 1727 a mother and daughter were convicted of witchcraft: the daughter succeeded in escaping, but the old woman was burnt in a pitch-barrel" (vol. 2, page 80). In Chambers' Encyclopedia we also read:—"As the spirit of Puritanism gained strength, the prosecutions increased. The General Assembly was the body in fault, and from this time forward the clergy were the great witch-finders in Scotland. At a single circuit held at Glasgow, Stirling, and Ayr, in 1659, seventeen persons were convicted and burned for this crime. The last regular execution for the crime is said to have been at Dornoch in 1722. The number of victims in Scotland from first to last has been estimated at upwards of four thousand." The same writer tells us of England, that "the era of the Long Parliament was that, perhaps, which witnessed the greatest number of executions for witchcraft. Three thousand persons are said to have perished during the continuance of the sittings of that body by legal executions, independently of summary deaths at the hands of the mob. Witch-executions, however, were continued with nearly equal frequency long afterwards." The same spirit per-

vaded the British colony in New England, and again, "as in Scotland and elsewhere, the (Protestant) clergy were the prime movers. At last, in the Salem tragedy, as it is called, in 1692, the executions, torturings, and imprisonments rose to such a height as to be no longer endurable; a complete revulsion of public feeling took place, and the delusion was broken."

But to return to Bishop Ledred he was for several years engaged in stormy contests which arose from the trial of Dame Kyteler. The agents of the Crown in Ireland and the Anglo-Norman nobility left nothing undone to be avenged for the insult which they fancied he had offered them. He himself was accused of heresy, was thrown into prison by the Seneschal of Kilkenny and detained there for several weeks. His enemies also succeeded in prejudicing the Archbishop of Dublin, Alexander de Bicknor, against him, so much so that the Bishop was repeatedly summoned to answer at the Metropolitan Ecclesiastical court, as well as before the civil tribunals for various crimes imputed to him. In particular he was accused of being an accomplice in the crime of murder. Thomas Fitz Gilbert had attacked and burned the castle of Moycobir and slain there Thomas le Poer: this crime, they said, was committed at the instigation of Bishop Ledred.

The Bishop, well knowing the character of the court tribunals as well as of the men who accused him, appealed at once to the Holy See, and set out in person for Avignon. It would be tedious to enter into the minute details of the many trials which ensued. Suffice it to say that by order of the King the Bishop's temporalities were seized for the Crown in the year 1329, whilst royal letters were sent to the Pope on the 8th of June, that year, and again in 1331, warning the Pontiff against showing favour to Bishop Ledred. However, the Holy See appears to have thoroughly well understood the character of his accusers and the nature of the accusations that were made against him. Pope John XXII., as early as the year 1320, addressed a letter to the Justiciary of Ireland urging him to put a stop to the "most wicked and impious calumnies" that were put in circulation against the Bishop: "ut a sævissimis et impiis calumniis eum liberet." (*Lynch's* MS.) Again, Benedict XII. in 1334 wrote to the King admonishing him that grave injury had been done to the Bishop of Ossory, and that wicked men, whose consciences were seared with

heresy, had, by plottings and deceits, induced the officers of the Crown to seize on the temporalities of the See: wherefore the Pontiff implores the King to see that those injuries be repaired, and that the temporalities be restored to the calumniated Prelate. At length, in the year 1339, a royal writ was issued cancelling the various orders of the Sheriffs and other Ministers of the Crown that had been issued against Bishop Ledred, declaring, moreover, that such orders had surreptitiously and by error been obtained from the Court.

Other controversies, however, arose about the same time between Ledred and his Metropolitan, the Archbishop of Dublin. These controversies appear to have been carried on with particular warmth in 1331 and in 1339. During the absence of the Bishop in Rome, in the year 1335, the Archbishop of Dublin commenced a series of annual visitations of the Diocese of Ossory, which no Metropolitan had attempted for more than forty years. Bishop Ledred again appealed to the Holy See, and Cardinal Bernard, of the Title of St. Cyriacus, was deputed by the Pope to inquire into the various matters of dispute. A Papal commission was also given to the Archbishop of Armagh to investigate the case in all its details. The decision of the Pope was again given in favour of the Bishop, and to prevent further disputes the See of Ossory during the life-time of Ledred was declared exempt from the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin. The Indult was granted by Pope Clement VI. in the year 1317. (Regest. Pontif. Clementis VI. an 5°., tom. 2., part 2., pag. 216.) After the death of Archbishop Bicknor and the promotion of John de St. Paul to the See of Dublin, the same Pope issued another Bull dated the 21st of July, 1351, restoring to the Metropolitical See its former jurisdiction and superiority over the Diocese of Ossory.

In 1349 further accusations were brought to the King of England against Ledred. He was in particular accused of issuing sentence of excommunication against the Treasurer of Ireland, who was engaged gathering in the King's debts in the city of Kilkenny; and he was also accused of contempt of court, in that he had told the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in open court that he "was a false traitor, and had given false counsel to the Justiciary of Ireland." In consequence of these accusations the temporalities of the See were again seized, and other severe measures were threatened against the Bishop. However, in a little time this storm blew over, the accusa-

tions were found to be groundless, and during the latter years of his episcopate he seems to have been free from further persecutions and to have enjoyed peace and the favour of the King.

Bishop Ledred expended large sums in beautifying and repairing the Cathedral. In the first five years of his episcopate "the new choir was built" (Clynn's Annals): and towards its close he furnished the windows of the whole church with stained glass of the most exquisite design. The eastern window, with its three lancet lights, was particularly prized. It set forth the history of the life, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord; and it was so admirably executed that nothing surpassing it was to be found in Ireland. This eastern window was for three centuries regarded as the gem of St. Canice's Cathedral. It was even spared when Bale and his iconoclast associates demolished the beautiful statues and other marble ornaments which adorned the building. The Nuncio Rinuccini was so filled with admiration for this work of art that he offered £700 for it to adorn his own Cathedral at Fermo. The Puritan troopers of Cromwell, however, regarded it as a remnant of Popery, and broke it to pieces. During the repairs of the church in 1846 some fragments of this window were found which fully justified the accounts of its original splendour. They were white, opaque, painted, and stained, the latter comprising purple, blue, yellow, amber, green, amethyst, and a rich ultramarine with intermediate shades of all these colours, and some of the fragments retained the full brilliancy of the original tints.

Clynn in his annals relates that on Friday, the 22nd of May, in the year 1332, the belfry, that is the square tower of the cathedral, fell, and with it a great part of the choir, the side chapels, the bells and the roof were involved in ruin, so that, as the annalist adds, "it was a horrid and pitiful spectacle to the beholder." ("The Annals of Ireland," by Father John Clyn, pag. 54.) All this was repaired by the Bishop. He also, with the sanction of the Crown, demolished three chapels which were outside the city walls, and are said to have been dedicated to St. James, St. Nicholas, and St. Bridget; and he used their materials in building an Episcopal Palace near the Cathedral. In honour of the saints, however, whose churches were demolished, he erected an altar at the marble window of the Palace ("ad marmoream episcopalis palatii fenestram."—Lynch's MS.), or, as some

affirm, three altars at three windows, and he imposed on the Collegiate Vicars the obligation of offering the Holy Sacrifice there as often as the Bishop would direct. He was also a benefactor to these Vicars whom he endowed with an orchard.

A few other facts relating to Ossory are registered by Friar Clynn in his Annals connected with this period.

In 1323 the great altar in the Church of the Friars Minors at Kilkenny was consecrated, and on Friday, the feast of St. Cecilia, in 1331, the Bishop of Waterford, in the absence of Bishop Ledred, consecrated the new cemetery outside the same church of the Friars Minors.

In 1335 on "the morrow of St. Lucy, the virgin," the great cross was put up in the centre of the market-place in Kilkenny. This cross was for a long time one of the greatest ornaments in the city. It is described in a Clarendon MS. as an arched structure, supported by marble columns, rising from a graduated base. Above the arch there arose a slender shaft, upon the top of which was a richly-sculptured cross adorned with the figures of St. Kieran, St. Canice, St. Patrick, and St. Bridget, who were the chief patron saints of the city. The Puritan soldiers in 1650 shattered a portion of the carving which represented the Crucifixion. The remainder, however, as late as 1730, is described as "adorned with good figures in relief, and well preserved." It was reserved for the Corporation in the year 1771 to demolish, by an act of ruthless vandalism, this ancient and beautiful monument.

In 1338 there was a great flood in the river on the 17th of November, "such as was not seen for forty years before, and it overthrew and carried away bridges, mills, and buildings. Of the whole monastery of Friars Minors only the high altar and the steps of the altar remained uncovered and untouched by the flood."

In 1346, on Friday, the 5th of May, "Dermicius M'Gillapatrick, who ever gave himself up to plots and treacheries, little regarding perjury, burned the town of Aghaboe, having brought O'Carroll to ccompany and assist him, and raging against the cemetery, the hurch, and the shrine of the most holy Abbot, St. Canice, with the saint's remains and relics, like a degenerate son against a father, he burned them and consumed them with unsparing fire."

In 1348, "chiefly in September and October, there came together

from divers parts of Ireland Bishops and Prelates, churchmen and religious, lords and commoners, to the pilgrimage and wading of the waters at Teach-Moling, in troops and multitudes, so that you could see many thousands there at the same time for many days together. Some came through devotion, but others—and they the greater part—from dread of the plague, which then grew very rife." This dreaded pestilence raged with great virulence in Kilkenny, carrying away thousands of victims, in 1348 and 1349. In particular it is mentioned that eight friars at the Black Abbey died of it within a few months in 1348.

Among the Pontifical Letters of Innocent VI. there is one dated the 27th January, 1355, by which the Deanery of Ossory, vacant by the resignation of Adam de Triellick, was confirmed to Thomas de Veverton. The chapter were not agreed in his election, bnt all agreed to leave the choice in the hands of the Bishop, who accordingly selected Thomas, and his selection was duly confirmed by the Holy See.

Whilst Bishop Ledred was in Avignon he, on the 14th of April, 1336, together with other Bishops, granted special indulgences to the Church of St. Mary and St. Lawrence at Colberg. (Lumigius "Spicilegium Ecclesiasticum," part 2, pag. 10 in appendix.) He lived to a ripe old age, and, dying in Kilkenny in the year 1360, was interred in St. Canice's Cathedral, near the high altar, at the Gospel side, where his monument may still be seen.

JOHN. A.D. 1361-1365.

Upon the death of Bishop Ledred the Holy See appointed John, who was probably a Dominican Friar, to the vacant See of Ossory. In the meantime the Crown had sanctioned the election of Milo Sweetman, Treasurer of the Cathedral, who was elected Bishop by the Chapter of St. Canice's. The Pope, however, refused to ratify his appointment, and the difficulty was removed by the Crown nominating him to the See of Armagh. Archbishop Sweetman held the Primatial See for nineteen years, till his death in 1380.

John, Bishop-Elect of Ossory, being present in Avignon, signed on the 20th of November, 1361, the usual form of agreement to pay to the Camera Apostolica a tax of two hundred florins. On the 9th of January following a Brief was addressed to him authorizing his return to Ireland, and we learn from this Brief that he had received

the Episcopal consecration in Avignon at the hands of Cardinal Raymond, Bishop of Praeneste, then residing in the Papal Court. A few years later another Brief conveying special Faculties, and dated the 21st March, 1364, was addressed to our Bishop by Pope Urban the Fifth.

Bishop John was a Benefactor to the Vicars Choral of St. Canice's Cathedral, to whom he released all proxies due to his See in right of ordinary visitations, except one annual payment of 6s. 8d. In return for this concession he required them to celebrate a Requiem Office on the anniversary of his decease, in default of which he imposed a fine of ten shillings. He further ordered that, with the exception of an annual sum of 26s 8d., all the proxies accruing to his Cathedral should be applied to its ornamentation and repairs.

The Assistant Collector of the Pontifical Taxes, in his official report, addressed to the Holy See, for the years 1363 and 1364, declared that there were some Irish Dioceses "which he had not time to visit, and into which he dare not enter." These were Ferns, Ossory, Limerick, Down, and Lismore. The decrease, indeed, in the Pontifical tax on the occasion of the appointment to the See, which in Bishop Ledred's time was seven hundred florins, but was now reduced to 200 florins, shows the ruin that through the peculation and dissensions of the Anglo-Norman nobles had fallen on the temporalities of Ossory. A complaint forwarded to Edward the Third by the Anglo-Norman nobility in 1341 illustrates the same fact. The Parliament had been summoned to meet in Dublin in October, 1341. The chief Anglo-Norman nobles, however, refused to attend, but assembled in Kilkenny, and thence forwarded their complaint to the king. They were reduced to such a state of poverty, they said, that they could not exist unless some remedy was devised. They ascribed the loss of the revenues of the colony, not only to the incessant wars, but also to the embezzlement and extortions practised by English-born officials, who entrusted the royal castles to incompetent warders, enriching themselves with the bribes which they received; charged the Crown for goods and valuables taken for its use, but for which they never paid; entered in their accounts salaries to governors of castles which were either demolished or were in the hands of the enemy, or had never existed; and exacted money from the king's subjects on a thousand other pretences.

WILLIAM. A.D. 1365-1369.

In Ware's History of the Irish Bishops no mention is made of this Prelate, and yet the Acts of the famous Parliament held at Kilkenny in the year 1367 leave no doubt as to his place among the Bishops of Ossory. The enactments of this Parliament have been carefully edited by Hardiman for the Irish Archæological Society, and among the Bishops who were present at its sessions, and gave their sanction to its statutes is expressly named "William, Bishop of Ossory." (*Statute of Kilkenny*, edited in 1843, page 119). The Parliament beiug held at Kilkenny, and the names of the other Bishops who were present being correctly given, are a sufficient guarantee for the accuracy of the entry relating to Bishop William.

The enactments of this Parliament of 1367 hold an evil preeminence among the very worst specimens of Anglo-Norman legislation in Ireland. The natives, in fact, were thenceforward to be treated as enemies, and an impassible barrier was set up between the Colonists and the Irish. Marriage with the natives was forbidden under pain of treason, and a like penalty was incurred by sending children to be fostered among the Irish. To assume Irish names, to speak the Irish language, to entertain an Irish minstrel, to use the Irish dress, or to adopt any Irish custom was forbidden under the severest penalties. It was enacted, moreover, that no Irishman should be promoted to any Cathedral, or Collegiate, or parochial benefice, and should any monastery or other religious house among the English presume to admit an Irishman to be enrolled in its community, it thereby forfeited its temporalities to the Crown. It was further commanded that "no Englishman who shall have the value of one hundred pounds of land, or of rent, by the year, shall ride otherwise than on a saddle in the English fashion; and he that shall do the contrary, and shall be thereof attainted, his horse shall be forfeited to our lord the king, and his body shall be committed to prison until he pay a fine according to the King's pleasure for the contempt aforesaid; and also that beneficed persons of Holy Church, living amongst the English, shall use the English language; and if they do not, that their ordinaries shall have the issues of their benefices until they use the English in the manner aforesaid; and they shall have respite in order to learn the English language, and to provide saddles, between this and the feast of St. Michael next following." The

Brehon Law, which was the law of the land among the natives, was declared to be "wicked and damnable," and all the English who submitted to it were denounced as traitors. Not only were the Colonists commanded to keep the upper lip shaved, but if any Irishman, no matter how peaceably disposed, was found within the Pale not shaved nor dressed in the English fashion, or unable to speak the English language, he was to be punished by confiscation of lands and goods; and if he had no property he was to be cast into prison.

The very severity of these enactments, as often happens with coercion laws, rendered them inoperative. They were, nevertheless, renewed in subsequent Parliaments, and so far as the agents of the Government were concerned nothing was left undone to enforce their observance.

JOHN DE TATENALE. A.D. 1370.

John de Tatenale was an Augustinian Friar, and as the Annals of his Order attest, was appointed to the See of Ossory in the year 1370. He died before Christmas in the same year.

Ware, finding that a Bishop John was appointed to this See in 1361, and that John de Tatenale died in 1370, without any other grounds identified the two Prelates, and thus left no room for Bishop William. The Augustinian Annals, however, fixing the appointment of de Tatenale in the year 1370, clearly distinguish between these two Prelates, and thus allow to Bishop William, of whom we have just spoken, his proper place among the Bishops of Ossory.

Pope Gregory XI., in the Brief appointing the next Bisoop, states that the death of de Tatenale took place before the close of the Pontificate of Urban V., who died on the 19th of December, 1370.

ALEXANDER PETIT. A.D. 1371-1386.

Alexander Petit, *alias* de Balscot, was a Canon of the Cathedral of Kilkenny, and was held in esteem by his contemporaries as a man of great learning and wisdom. He was elected by the Chapter in what seemed to them due course, but as the Holy See had reserved to itself the appointment, the election made by the Chapter was declared null and void. Nevertheless, in recognition of Alexander's merits, Pope Gregory XI. promoted him to the vacant See by Brief of the 10th of February, 1371, and on the 8th of March following his engagement to pay the tax of two hundred florins was duly presented to the Camera Apostolica. He was made Treasurer of Ireland by King Edward the

Third in 1376, and a guard of six men at arms and twelve archers, paid out of the Exchequer, was allowed him while he held that office. He was three times Treasurer in the reign of Richard the Second, viz., in 1376, 1385, and 1394. He was also for a time Judiciary of the Kingdom, and was subsequently, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, appointed to the office of Chancellor in the year 1400, but before that time he had severed his connection with Ossory.

Bishop Alexander held the See of Ossory about fifteen years, and was translated to Meath by Pope Urban the Sixth in 1386.

RICHARD NORTHALIS. A.D. 1380-1395.

Richard was the son of a wealthy merchant who had held the office of Lord Mayor of London. It has been supposed that he derived his sirname from being born at Northall, in the County of Middlesex. He embraced the religious order of our Lady of Mount Carmel, and, being remarkable among his brethren for his learning and piety, was appointed to the See of Ossory in 1386. His promise to pay the usual tax of two hundred florins to the Camera Apostolica bears date the 17th of February, 1386. Soon after his consecration he was appointed by the Crown to the important post of Chancellor of Ireland. About this time the misgovernment of the country had reached such a height that it became necessary to nominate a commission of inquiry into the frauds and injustices which were committed there by the various officials of the Crown. Bishop Northalis was chosen by the king to preside at this commission. They were deputed to examine into, and report on, the abuses in the Government of the kingdom, particularly during the administration of Sir John Stanley, late Justiciary for Ireland, and they were authorised to examine all Peers, Prelates, and any others who could give information in such matters. One item of the instructions given was to inquire into the revenues of the kingdom, and how much of these revenues the said Judiciary had applied to his own use. The Bishop, moreover, was empowered to supervise and examine into the Rolls and Records of the Exchequer and other courts whensoever he pleased, and to report on the behaviour of the respective officers; and the liege subjects of the Crown were commanded to aid him in his difficult task. The king was so satisfied with the skill and fidelity with which the Bishop discharged the responsible duties thus imposed on him that he appointed him Roya. Ambassador to Pope Boniface IX. in 1391, and

again in 1394. But, notwithstanding his integrity and zeal, the abuses still continued. Richard II. landed at Waterford on the 2nd of October, 1304. He wrote on the 1st of February following to the Duke of York, whom he had left as Regent in England—"To us and our Council here it appears that the Irish rebels have rebelled in consequence of the injustice and grievances practised towards them, for which they have been afforded no redress." It was probably Bishop Northalis who thus made known to the king the unpleasant truth that "injustice practised and redress withheld" lay at the root of the Irish difficulty. Nevertheless, the officials continued to pursue their reckless career of oppression and plunder.

King Richard also learned another lesson on this occasion. After a few months he found that it was idle to hope to subdue the native princes by the sword. He, accordingly, resolved to try what justice and conciliation could effect. He unfurled the Standard of Edward the Confessor, whom the Irish held in great veneration, and he invited the four leading chieftains, O'Neill, O'Connor, MacMurrogh, and O'Brien, who were styled the four kings of Ireland, to confer with him. They responded to his invitation, made known their grievances, received knighthood at the king's hands, and were feasted at the royal table. As a result of this friendly conference peace was for a time restored throughout the greater part of Ireland.

A curious writ, issued in 1393, makes known to us the ample provision which was required for the table of the Viceroy in those days. It was addressed by the Earl of Ormonde as Viceroy to the Seneschal of Wexford, and commanded him to have provided at Ross, where the Earl intended to pass Christmas, all needful supplies for the Viceregal house-keeping, including forty crannocks of pure flour (each crannoc containing about sixteen bushels and two quarters), sixty crannocs of oats, sixty good bullocks, four boars, eighty large and sixty small pigs, one hundred geese, one hundred ducks, two hundred pairs of rabbits, six hundred pairs of poultry, six lambs, two thousand five hundred herrings, and one hundred salted salmons.

Bishop Northalis was translated to Dublin in the year 1395, and died July the 20th, 1397.

THOMAS PEVERELL. A.D. 1396-1398.

Thomas Peverell, who is sometimes called Pierevill, was of an

honourable family in the county of Suffolk. Like his predecessor, he was a Carmelite friar. He studied at Oxford, where he graduated with applause Doctor of Divinity. Ware styles him a man eminent in the age in which he lived. After his appointment to the See he signed the usual deed for payment of the tax of two hundred florins to the Camera Apostolica on the 3rd November, 1395, which fixes as well the time of the translation of his predecessor to Dublin as the date of his own accession to Ossory. In May, 1398, Bishop Peverell was translated from Ossory to Llandaff. He was thence translated to the See of Worcester in the year 1407, where he died on the 2nd of March, 1408. He is said to have been interred in the church of the Carmelites, near the University of Oxford.

JOHN WULTHAM. A.D. 1399.

John, whose name is written Wultham in the Annals of the Augustinian Order, and is said to have been sometimes written Wulcan or Vulcan, a few days after his appointment to the See of Ossory signed, on the 1st of February, 1399, an engagement to pay for himself the usual tax of two hundred florins, and further another sum of two hundred florins, being the tax imposed on his predecessor, Thomas, which remained undischarged at the time of that Bishop's translation to another See.

The temporalities of this See were restored to Bishop John by royal writ of 20th of March, 1399. He belonged to the Order of St. Augustine, and before the month of July, 1399, was translated to the See of Dromore.

JOHN GRIFFIN. A.D. 1399—1400.

John Griffin, Bishop of Leighlin, was by Pontifical Brief translated to Ossory on the 2nd of July, 1399. On the 12th of the same month he signed the usual paper, obliging himself to pay one hundred and eighty-five *florins* and forty-four *solidos*, portion of the tax which remained unpaid by his predecessor, John, and in addition the sum of one hundred florins, which was still due from the time of the appointment of Thomas Peverell. As regards himself, no new tax was imposed, as his appointment was the second that had been made to the See of Ossory within twelve months: "die 12 Julii, Johannes Ossoriensis Electus, promotus 6 nonas Julias, promisit flor. 185 et solidos 44, monetae currentis, pro communi servitio alterius D. Johannis praedecessoris sui; et 100 alios flor. pro Thoma, praeanticessore: pro se

autem non promisit quia fuit facta bis promotio infra annum." *Obligazioni*, tom. 81, pag. 47. A royal grant made to this Prelate while he was Bishop of Leighlin throws considerable light on the terrible state of ruin and desolation to which the country was reduced by wars and misgovernment. The royal writ set forth that "the Diocese of Leighlin was destroyed by Irish enemies to such a degree that this Bishop had no place left for his abode," and therefore the king "granted to him the village of Galroestown, in the county of Dublin, near the Marches of O'Toole, an Irish enemy, with all its appurtenances, being part of the possessions of the See of Killaloe, and in the king's hands through the vacancy by the death of the late Bishop, predecessor to the present Bishop, who is a mere Irishman abiding among the Irish enemies, and not amenable to law or government." (*Rymer* Foedera tom. 7, pag. 643). Bishop Griffin held the See of Ossory only for a few months, and passed to his reward in the beginning of the year 1400.

JOHN. A.D. 1400.

We learn from the returns which were made to the Camera Apostolica that on the 14th of May, in the year 1400, John, Bishop-Elect of Ossory, signed the acknowledgment of his personal obligation to pay the usual tax of two hundred florins, and, moreover, engaged to pay eighty-one florins and forty-seven solidos "pro residuis Domini Johannis prae-anticessoris sui." Thus the official entries still preserved in the Books of the Papal Archives afford conclusive evidence that three Bishops John held in succession the See of Ossory.

ROGER DE APPLEBY. A.D. 1400-1404.

The Bull of Pope Boniface XI. appointing *Roger Appleby* to the See of Ossory is dated the 26th of September, 1400. The See is described as vacant "per obitum Johannis extra curiam defuncti," and we are further informed that the newly-appointed Bishop had hitherto been "" Prior Prioratus de Noneton, ordinis Fontis Ebraudi, Coventrensis et Lichfeldensis Dioecesis." The following entry in the books of the Camera Apostolica serves to fix the order of the succession of Bishops in the See at this period: "Rogerius Ossoriensis Episcopus recognovit seu ratas habuit obligationes tum Johannis sui praedecessoris immediati, tum alterius Johannis in flor. 81. sol. 47. Pro se autem nihil obligavit, quia fuit facta promotio bis in anno." (*Obligazioni*, tom. 52, pag 96.) Bishop Roger was admitted to the tempo-

ralities of the See by royal letters of King Henry IV. on the 6th of April, 1401.

In the year 1401 King Henry appointed his second son, Thomas of Lancaster, who was only in his twelfth year, Viceroy of Ireland. A letter to the King from the Council of Dublin, towards the close of the following year represents most vividly the condition of the English colony: "With heavy hearts (they thus write) we testify anew to your Highness that our lord, your son, is so destitute of money that he has not a penny in the world, nor can he borrow a single penny, because all his jewels and his plate, that he can spare of those which he must of necessity keep, are pledged and kept in pawn: also his soldiers have departed from him, and the people of his household are on the point of leaving; and however much they might wish to remain, it is not in his power to keep together, with a view to his aid, twenty or a dozen persons. . . . And the country is so weakened and impoverished by the long non-payment, as well in the time of our lord, your son, as in the time of the other Lieutenants before him, that the same land can no longer bear such charge. In good faith, our most sovereign lord, it is marvellous that they have borne such a charge so long."

At this time the Provost and commonalty of the recently-walled town of Kilkenny petitioned for and obtained a grant that the burgesses might, on market days, during times of peace or truce, sell to the neighbouring Irish enemies and rebels any victuals or merchanchandize, with the exception of horses and arms.

JOHN. A.D. 1404-1405.

Ware, who writes with great uncertainty regarding the Bishops of the See at this period, states that John Volcan was translated from Dromore to Ossory by the Pope in 1404. If this be so, he was probably the John Wultham, *alias* Vulcan, whom we have seen translated to Dromore from Ossory in 1399. The See of Dromore was at this time completely waste, and it is not impossible that Bishop Wultham would have petitioned to be restored to his former See. There is great uncertainty, however, whether the Bishop who now held the See was translated from Dromore or not. The returns in the books of the Camera Apostolica give two entries regarding Bishop John. In one he is called Johannes Valten, whilst in the other his name is given "Johannes Walteri:" he engaged to

pay the usual tax of two hundred florins, and also the residue of the debt of a former Bishop John, amounting to eighty-one florins and forty-seven solidos. Ware writes that "he was a man of no mean rank on the score of the endowments of his mind."

THOMAS SNELL. A.D. 1405-1416.

Thomas Snell was Archdeacon of Glendalough, and was thence promoted to the See of Waterford and Lismore in the year 1399. He was translated to Ossory in the year 1405, and the temporalities were restored to him by writ of the 23rd September the same year. He presented to the Cathedral of St. Canice pontifical gloves and sandals, and one fair silken cope, interwoven with gold, and also a mitre set with precious stones. "Qui Ecclesiæ Cathedrali novam mitram gemmis praetiosis ornatam, chirotecas, sandalia pontificalia, et unam pulchram capam sericam notulis aureis contextam dedit." MS. T.C.D. E. 3., 13. During his Episcopate the Council of Constance was held, and we learn from the Acts of the Council that William Purcell took part in its sessions as "Proxy of Bishop Thomas of Ossory." in the beginning of the year 1416. (Martene, veter. Monument. tom. 7, col. 1222). Bishop Snell died in Waterford on the 16th October, 1416.

PATRICK RAGGED. A.D. 1417-1421.

The Consistorial Acts on the 15th of December, 1417, register the translation of "Patrick, Bishop of Cork, to the See of Ossory, vacant by the death of Bishop Thomas."

This Bishop took part in the Sessions of the Council of Constance as Bishop of Cork, and subsequently as Bishop of Ossory, and is said to have written a work on the Acts of that Council. It appears from the Books of the Camera Apostolica that he paid in person at Constance, on the 3rd of January, 1418, the sum of fifty florins in gold as part of the tax due on his promotion to Ossory. There is another entry to the effect that on the 11th of May, 1419, this Prelate paid at Florence through the hands of Richard Smythe, a clergyman of the Diocese of Ossory, an additional sum in full discharge of that tax. An ancient writer gives this Bishop the character of having "governed his flock with justice and piety, and fed them both by his example and instructions." Cotton also writes of him: "He is reported to have been a man of piety, great learning, and zeal." He was appointed collector of the taxes of the Camera Apostolica in Ireland

on the 11th of January, 1418, and he died on the 20th of April, 1421. We learn from Dr. Brady, in his "Episcopal Succession" that the name of this Prelate is written Patrick Foxe in some of the Roman documents. This was probably an error arising from the fact that his predecessor in the office of collector of the taxes of the Camera in Ireland was called Foxe, as we learn from a document published by Theiner in Vet. Monum., page 368.

DENIS O'DEA. A.D. 1421-1427.

This Prelate is described by Ware as "Bachelor of the Civil and Canon Laws, as also a man of great knowledge in the municipal laws of his own country," He was appointed to this See by Pope Martin V. on the 4th of July, 1421. The Concistorial entry of his appointment records the fact that he was Præcentor of the Diocese of Limerick, and adds that a dispensation was also granted him in regard to age, "should such dispensation be found necessary." His name appears on the books of the Camera Apostolica in connection with his Diocesan tax on the 3rd of August, 1421; again on the 18th of December, 1423; and lastly on the 5th of October, 1425. He died in the beginning of the year 1427. The connection of this Bishop with the Diocese of Limerick, as set sorth in the Consistorial record, is the more interesting on account of the illustrious Cornelius O'Dea being at this very time Bishop of that See, his episcopate extending from 1400 to 1426.

THOMAS BARRY. A.D. 1427-1460.

Thomas Barry, Bachelor in Civil and Canon Law, was appointed to Ossory in the Consistory of the 19th of February, 1427. On the books of the Camera Apostolica his name appears on the 5th of April, 1427, as "Thomas Barry, Electus Ossoriensis," but on the 4th of July following he appears as "R. P. D. Thomas Barri, Dei gratia Episcopus Ossoriensis." All his debts to the Camera were paid in full by the 20th of January, 1428. He held the office of Treasurer of Ireland, to which he was appointed on the 1st of January, 1428. He was a benefactor to the Vicars Choral of the Cathedral, and built a castle and hall at the episcopal manor of Bishopslough. In 1450 Bishop Barry, together with the Bishops of Leighlin, Down, and Limerick, was fined for non-attendance at the Parliament to which he had been duly summoned. During his episcopate a controversy was carried on before the court of Pope Nicholas V. regarding the paro-

chial church of Kilbride, near Callan. The controversy was not decided till the Pontificate of Pope Paul II. some years after the death of Bishop Barry, when that Church seems to have been definitively assigned to the parish of Callan.

A Parliament held at Trim in 1447, enacted that those who would be taken for Englishmen should not use a beard upon the upper lip alone; that the said lip should be shaved once at least in every two weeks, and that offenders therein should be treated as Irish enemies. It also passed an Act against the use of gilt bridles, and peytrells, which were small gilded chains drawn across the chests of war-horses: these were allowed only to "Knights and Prelates of Holy Church." It was added that "if anyone be found with such bridle, peytrell, or other gilt harness from the 1st of May next, it shall be lawful to every man that will to take the said man, his horse and harness, and to possess the same as his own goods."

Bishop Barry died on the 3rd of March, 1460, and was interred in the Cathedral of St. Canice before the high altar.

DAVID HACKET. A.D. 1460-1471.

The Pontifical Archives preserve the record that David Hacket, formerly Prior of the Augustinian Monastery of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, at Athassel, in the Diocese of Cashel, was advanced by Pope Pius II. to the See of Ossory, vacant by the demise of its late Bishop, and that he was duly consecrated in Rome in the year 1460 (Regest Pauli ii., tom. page 191). His name appears on the lists of the Camera Apostolica on the 14th of July, 1460, as "Episcopus Ossoriensis Electus." He expended considerable sums on the Episcopal mansions, particularly at Clonmore, and he was also a benefactor to the College of Vicars Choral, granting to them the parochial church of Ballybur, at the instance and petition of its patron, Richard Vale. The vaulting of the central tower of the Cathedral of St. Canice was perfected by him in cut-stone. This beautiful specimen of perpendicular work still remains, and is worthy of the Bishop's fame as a most skilful architect.

It was during his episcopate that the following Statute was enacted, which is quite in keeping with the Anglo-Norman legislation for Ireland: "Every Irishman that dwells betwixt or amongst Englishmen in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, and Kildare, shall go like to an Englishman in apparel and shaving off his beard

about the mouth, and shall be within one year sworn the liege men of the king in the hands of the lieutenant or deputy, and shall take to him an English surname of a *town*, as Sutton, Chester, Trim, Skreyne, Cork, Kinsale or *colour*, as Black, White, or Brown; or an *art* or *science*, as Smith or Carpenter; or an *office*, as Cook, Butler, &c. And that he and his issue shall use this name under pain of forfeiting his goods yearly, till the premises be done, to be levied twice by the year and applied to the king's wars."

JOHN O'HEDAYN. A.D. 1479-1486.

John O'Hedayn, who is also called O'Hedian and O'Hedyan, was by Pontifical Brief appointed Archdeacon of Ossory, and also Archdeacon of Cashel on the 8th of January, 1460 (*Thiener*, Mon. Vatic., page 424), and it is added that these special favours were granted to him on account of his "vitae ac morum honestas aliaque laudabilia probitatis et virtutum merita." In the Consistory of the 15th January, 1472, he was promoted to the See of Ossory, which is described as "vacant by the demise of its late Bishop," and he was consecrated in Rome on the 21st of February following, in the church of St. Tryphon, by Benedict, Archbishop of Mitylene, "assistentibus sibi Stephano Brichi episcopo Antibarensi et Stephano Sagiensi Episcopo." From the books of the Camera Apostolica it appears that he was collector of the Papal taxes in Ireland, in the year 1482, in which year he also consecrated a church in the diocese of Waterford. Ware writes that "he is said to have taken a great deal of pains in the government of his diocese." After an episcopate of about seven years he died the 5th of January, 1487, and was buried in a Capella near the west entrance of the Cathedral.

A Bishop named Richard Winchelsey, of the Dominican Order, is said by De Burgo, on the authority of various foreign writers of the Order, to have been appointed to the See of Ossory in 1479; and as such to have been admitted to special religious privileges of the Order in 1481. (Hib. Dominic., page 476.) However, other writers of the Order, as Echard attests, call him "Episcopum Ollonensem," which was probably a titular See in Achaja. The Bullarium Ordinis Praedicatorum gives also the names of some of the religious brethren who were "Episcopi Ossonenses." It is probable that one of these titles should be assigned to Richard Winchelsey, and at all events it is clear from the Consistorial Records cited above that there is no place for him in the See of Ossory.

OLIVER CANTWELL. A.D. 1487-1527.

Oliver Cantwell, O.S.D., was promoted to the See of Ossory by Pope Innocent VIII. on the 27th of March, 1487. The Bull of his appointment is printed by De Burgo in "Hibernia Dominicana," page 478. In the Consistorial Record the See is described as vacant "per obitum Johannis extra Curiam defuncti." In the beginning of the following year a letter was addressed to him and the other Bishops of Ireland by the Pope, exhorting them to quell the popular excitement against King Henry VII. This had reference to the tumults excited by Lambert Simnel, whose claim to the Crown was very generally accepted throughout Ireland, and at whose coronation by the Archbishop of Dublin several of the Irish prelates were present. The mock royalty of the Pretender was soon brought to a close on the battlefield in England, but it was not until the 29th of February, 1495, that the king confirmed our Bishop's appointment and restored to him the temporalities of the See. He was obliged on this occasion, in the presence of the Bishop of Bangor, who was Justice and Chancellor of Ireland, to sue for the royal pardon for having accepted the Pope's Bulls without the king's provision. In a Provincial Synod held in Dublin in 1494 he is styled "the Dean of the Province," which was probably meant to indicate an honorary precedence accorded to his See, as he otherwise, with one exception, was the junior among the Bishops assembled in the Synod. He was an active and liberal Prelate, and a great benefactor of his See. He expended large sums of money on the repairs of the Episcopal mansions at Freshford and Freinstown. He obtained a Brief from Alexander VI in 1498, granting to the Chapter, for the Cathedral repairs, the revenues of one parochial cure, and he appropriated to the Vicars Choral the Chapel of St. Maul, at the instance, as is recorded, of Rev. Jas. Shortall, Præbendary of Kilmanagh, who was afterwards Prior of St. John's, in Kilkenny. He proved himself, moreover, a benefactor to the public at large by rebuilding, at considerable expense, the bridge over the Nore, near the Cathedral, which some time before had been destroyed by a flood. It continued to be known as "the great bridge" till, together with St. John's Bridge, it was swept away on the 2nd of October, 1763. He also obtained from King Henry VII. Letters Patent confirming the grant of a weekly market to the Irishtown in Kilkenny. At a Parliament held in Drogheda during his Episcopate (A.D. 1494), all the

subjects of the Crown were ordered to provide themselves with cuirasses, saletts or helmets, English bows and sheaves of arrows. Every parish was to be provided with a pair of butts, and the constables were ordered to call the parishioners before them on holidays to shoot, at least, two or three games. It was further ordered that the Lords, spiritual and temporal, should appear in Parliament in English robes; and it is added that the English lords in Ireland had, during the past twenty-five years, "through penuriousness, done away with the said robes, to their own great dishonour." As a defence against the incursions of the Irish chieftains it was enacted that the inhabitants on the frontiers of the Pale should forthwith build and maintain a double-ditch raised six feet above the ground on the side which "meared next unto the Irishmen." Bishop Cantwell lived to a venerable old age, and, having ruled this See for forty years, died on the 9th of January, 1526-7. Throughout his episcopate he observed the rule, and wore the religious habit of his order, and he was interred in the Dominican Abbey at Kilkenny. A drawing of his seal is preserved in the Archives of Christ Church, Dublin. Ware, in his notice of this Bishop, adds: "I have been informed that a monument was erected to his memory in St. Canice's Church." No trace of such a monument can now be found, and it is quite possible that Ware's informant may have been led into error by the monument erected to a Precentor of the Cathedral of the name of Cantwell, who died in 1531, and on whose tomb we read the following inscription:—

Hic jacet
Dominus Joannes Cantwell
Quondam Praecentor istius Ecclesiae
Qui obiit XXIII die mensis Novembris, A.D.
MCCCCCXXXI.
Cujus animae propitietur Deus. Amen.
Milo Episcopus Ossoriensis
Omnibus dicentibus Orationem Dominicam et
Salutationem Angelicam
Pro anima praedicti Praecentoris
Toties quoties concessit XL. dies Indulgentiae.

MILO BARON. A.D. 1528-1550.

Milo Fitzgerald, generally called Milo Baron, belonged to the Geraldine family of Burntchurch, in the county of Kilkenny, who re-

ceived the name of Baron from the title which they held of Barons of Burntchurch, granted to them in earlier times by the Earls Palatine of those parts. He had studied at Oxford and was a Canon Regular of St. Augustine, Abbot of Inistioge and Prior of the Augustinian Priory of St. Columba at Inistioge. He was nominated for this See by the King in 1527, but did not receive his appointment from the Pope till the 8th of June, 1528, on which date we find the following Consistorial entry: "Die octavo Junii, 1528, ad relationem R. D. P. Cardinalis de Cesis, Sua Sanctias providit Ecclesiae Ossoriensi in Hibernia, vacanti per obitum Oliverii extra Romanam Curiam defuncti, de persona viri religiosi Milonis Baron Prioratus S. Columbae et Abbatis de Ynystyok, ordinis S. Angustini, cum retentione dicti prioratus." He received at the same time a special Brief authorising him to retain the revenues of his former priory. It is probable that he was consecrated in Rome, as there is an entry in the papers of the Camera Apostolica that he paid a portion of the Diocesan tax on the 10th of July, 1528. Before his appointment to the See he added a new Tower and Cloister to the Priory at Inistioge. During his Episcopate he was a benefactor to the Vicars Choral and gave many proofs of his munificence. He repaired the Episcopal Palace, erected a handsome marble altar in the Cathedral, and bequeathed a rich silver Crozier to his successors. He continued to hold the Priory in *Commendam* till the dissolution of the Monasteries in 1540, when he was compelled to surrender it to the agents of the Crown. Sir Richard Butler was the first to receive a grant of its lands and revenues, but on the 20th of December, 1551, an order was issued by the Lords of the Council in England, commanding it to given to *Edward Seyntloo* for a term of 21 years "in consideration of his painful and diligent services in the late wars in Ireland." (*Morrin*, Calendar, I. 255). Before this term expired an order was issued by Queen Elizabeth in 1567 to have it leased to Sir Edmund Butler, together with the Monastery of Connall and the greater part of the possessions of the Abbey of Baltinglass. Thus were the offerings of the piety of our Fathers sacrilegiously plundered, in order to gratify the vanity and the pleasures of the agents or the flatterers of the Government. Dr. Milo Baron died full of days in the year 1550, and was buried among his ancestors in the Monastery of Inistioge. Some writers have placed his death in 1551, but the Lord Deputy, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer in England, on September

27th. 1550, speaks of the See as having just then become vacant: "Whereas, there is a poor Bishopric fallen void in the parts where a poor Chaplain of mine is resident, the Bishopric of Ossory, which is not taxed at 100 marks by the year, I shall humbly beseech your honour to further my said Chaplain thereunto." (*Shirley*, Original Letters, pag. 42). In another letter the Lord Deputy states that Ossory had become vacant since his arrival in Ireland, which was in July, 1550: and again on the 5th of December, that year, he expresses his regret that the Bishopric of Ossory had been refused to his Chaplain, Patrick Walsh, and adds:—"And now as touching the Bishopric void, it shall be well done some honest man be placed therein for the advancement of (the Protestant) religion, which although it hath been here much talked of these two or three years passed, yet hath it been smally set forth in deed, and perchance if the disposition of men here, were thoroughly known, it would be thought a thing not easy to be brought to pass." (*Ibid.* pag. 46.)

The Parliament held in Dublin, in 1537, enacted a Statute of extreme severity against everything Irish. After setting forth in the King's name that "there is nothing which doth more continue and keep many of his subjects of this his land in a certain savage and wild kind of manner of living than the diversity that is betwixt them in tongue, language, manner and habit," it proceeds to describe "the persons that esteem not his most dread laws," and who were therefore to be reputed and treated as public enemies. They are the following: Such persons as shall be shorn or shaven about the ears, or use the wearing of hair upon their heads like unto long locks called glibbes, or have any hair growing on their upper lips, or wear a shirt smock, kercher, bendel, or linen-cap, dyed with saffron; and such persons as in their shirts or smocks use above seven yards of cloth measured according to the King's standard, and women wearing their kyrtell or gown embroidered or garnished with silk or laid with usker "after the Irish fashion." To all this is added a prohibition to employ any Irish-speaking clergy, unless, after due proclamation at the market cross, no English applicant could be found.

Towards the close of Bishop Milo's episcopate the thoughts of the crown were turned to the temporalities of the Irish Sees, and it certainly was not the will of the courtiers that was wanting if all the gold and silver of St Canice's was not confiscated to satisfy their

greed. The following are the official instructions given to the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, and renewed on the appointment of Sir James Croft in 1551: "Our said Deputy (with the advice of the Council of Ireland) shall give order that no sale nor alteration be made of any church bells, chauntry, or free chapel lands without our Royal assent, and, if any alterations have been made, to reform the same; and that they shall cause inventries to be made in every parish, as well as of such goods, ornaments, jewels, and bells, as of the chauntry or free chapel lands given to any church for any intent, for the better knowledge, safe and true keeping together of the premises and of every part thereof." (*Shirley*, Ibid. pag. 40). These instructions had for their apparent object to preserve the church from plunder, but the example of England made it sufficiently clear that such instructions were the immediate forerunners of confiscation, and plunder, and utter ruin. The accession, however, of Queen Mary rendered them inoperative for a short time.

JOHN O'THONORY.

The next Bishop in the Catholic succession was John O'Thonory. He was a native of Kilkenny, a Bachelor of Divinity, and a Canon Regular of St. Augustine, and soon after the accession of Queen Mary was promoted to the See. The Patent Rolls of Chancery in Ireland preserve the Queen's License for his appointment, dated the 14th of October, 1553, but his election did not take place till the 26th of December. "Whereas, we perceive the Bishopric of Ossory to be void (thus writes the Queen on the 14th of October, anno 1°), we have thought good for the learning and integrity of life which we understand to be in John Thnory, Bachelor of Divinity, to nominate and appoint him to the same Bishopric. These shall be, therefore, to will and command you to make letters-patent under our great seal to the said John, of the Bishopric, and to give further order for his consecration and installation, according to the order of our said realm." The mandate for his consecration was addressed to the Archbishop of Cashel, Dublin being then vacant by the deposition of the Protestant Archbishop Brown, and to the Bishops of Waterford, Ferns, and Leighlin. His consecration took place at Inistioge, "consecratus est apud Inistiock sub finem, A.D. 1553" (*Lynch's* MS.), and the temporalities were restored to him on the 4th of January, 1554. His appointment to the See by the Crown, without the sanction of the Pope,

was irregular, but his consecration being valid, and according to the Catholic rite, he was absolved from all censures by Cardinal Pole, and duly confirmed in the See. He took care to have the ancient charters of the See, which had been scattered towards the close of Edward the Sixth's reign, transcribed and sealed with his own seal. To add to the decorum and solemnity of the Divine worship he established a choir of singing boys, and added four choristers to the Cathedral. "Ad majorem divini cultus celebritatem et venustatem adjecit puerorum symphoniacorum decus, et numerum choristarum quaternarium fundavit: antiquae Ecclesiæ suæ Chartas aliter perituras transcribi et sigillo suo muniri curavit."—*Ibid.* On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he foresaw that a storm of persecution was about to fall upon the Church, and that the designs of the courtiers on the temporalities of the See, which had been frustrated by the death of Edward VI., would too soon be accomplished. He endeavoured, therefore, to transfer, as far as was in his power, the lands and other possessions of the See into safe hands; and we read in particular of a fee-farm lease of the manors of Freshford and Frienstown being made to Sir Richard Shea, a worthy citizen of Kilkenny, and of the lands at Tescoffin, Grange-cool-pobble, and Seskinwood being otherwise disposed of. The sums which he received for these lands were stolen from him by robbers, who were arrested and convicted, and, after acknowledging their crime, were executed. The Bishop was so troubled at this robbery that he is said to have died through grief in the year 1565.

Dr. O'Thonory's name appears on the list of those who were summoned to Parliament in 1560. He was also one of the commissioners appointed for civil and military purposes for the County of Kilkenny in May, 1559. These honours, however, failed to withdraw him from the unity of the faith, and he continued till the end devoted in his allegiance to the Catholic Church. The Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, writing to the Lords of the Privy Council from Dublin, March 16th, 156$\frac{3}{4}$, sufficiently attest his orthodoxy, for they declare that: "here are two good Bishops of Armagh and Meath; their lives be unblamed, and their diligence in preaching worthy to be commended, especially Meath: the Chancellor (Dublin) is civil and conformable, and will do as he seemeth what authority shall command. The rest of the Bishops, as we hear, be all Irish, we need say no more." (*Shirley*, pag. 140).

It is through O'Thonory that the Catholic Episcopal succession has been handed down to us in the See of Ossory. The Protestant Episcopate begins with John Bale, who was appointed to this See by Edward VI., by patent of February the 1st, 155⅔. He was a native of England, being born in Suffolk in 1495, and, embracing a religious life, entered the Order of Carmelites. He was a man of considerable learning, but, having cast aside the restraints of religion, soon became remarkable for his extreme self-conceit, his uncontrolable temper, and his scurrilous language. Availing himself of the license of the new tenets, he quitted the religious order to which he belonged, apostatized from the faith, took to himself a wife, and was soon reckoned among the chief ornaments of the Reformed Church in Great Britain. He himself avowed that a temporal Lord was the chief instrument of his conversion; but Nicholson, in his "Historical Library," considers that "in truth his wife Dorothy had as great a hand in that happy work as the Lord." His violent attacks on Catholic doctrine were distasteful to Henry the Eighth, and on more than one occasion he was threatened with imprisonment. He was sheltered, however, under the protection of Lord Cromwell, on whose death he adopted the wiser course of seeking a refuge in Germany. Soon after the accession of Edward VI. he returned to England, and, being presented to the King at Southampton, was rewarded with the rich benefice of Bishopstoke, near that town. He was consecrated at Christ-Church, Dublin, together with Goodacre, of Armagh, in February, 1553. Archbishop Brown was the consecrating Prelate, and wished to use the ancient form of consecration; but Bale protested against it as a remnant of Popery, and insisted on being consecrated according to the new form as set forth in the Second Prayer-Book of Edward the Sixth. It was of no avail to assure him that such a form was illegal in this country, for the Second Prayer-Book had not as yet been set forth by authority or sanctioned by Act of Parliament in Ireland. He, however, would not be consecrated by any other form, and, at the request of powerful friends, Archbishop Brown at length acquiesced. The defective form on which Bale thus insisted has never been recognised as valid by the Church, and thus Bale's consecration was, beyond all doubt, null and void. Kilkenny was at this time a main stronghold of the Government in Ireland, and during the six months that Bale enjoyed the temporalities of the See

of Ossory he attests that he "enjoyed great peace," but he adds that in the matter of preaching the reformed tenets "helpers I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number." *Bale*, Vocacyon, in Harleian Miscell. VI. 412 Seq.

On the accession of Queen Mary Bale's episcopal career was quickly brought to a close in Ossory. "On the 20th day of August," he writes, "was the Lady Mary with us at Kilkenny proclaimed Queen of England, France, and Ireland, with the greatest solemnity that could be devised of processions, musters, and disguisings, all the noble captains and gentlemen thereabout being present. What ado I had that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing the cope, crosier, and mitre in procession, it were too much to write." On Thursday, the 31st of August, the clergy and people of this Catholic diocese assembled to proclaim their faith: as yet no statute or proclamation had been made, but they could not brook any further delay. "They rang all the bells in that cathedral, minster, and parish churches" (writes Bale); "they flung up their caps to the battlements of the great temple; they brought forth their copes, candlesticks, holy water stocks, crosses, and censers; they mustered forth in general procession most gorgeously all the town over, with *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, and the rest of the Latin litany."

Even here, however, the trials of Bale did not end. He proceeded with a body of his adherents to Freshford, and, there addressing the people, poured out a volley of insults and calumnies against the Catholic Church. A melee ensued in which five of his followers were killed, and he himself owed his safety to the iron railing and the strong bolts of Uppercourt, then called Bishopscourt. A guard of one hundred horsemen and three hundred footmen was sent from Kilkenny under the command of Robert Shea, *Sovereign* of the city, whom Bale calls "a man sober, wise, and godly, which is a rare thing in that land," who "with great strength" conducted him to the city, but at night a party of the citizens, having at their head an individual named *Barnaby Bolger*, surrounded his house, threatening him with death unless he ceased to defile by his presence their Catholic city. It was only by the interposition of the Sovereign, with 400 soldiers, that the commotion was again partially quelled, and at dawn Bale made his escape to Dublin. Instead of protection, he found that new danger awaited him in that capital of our island; in the disguise of a

sailor he was again obliged to seek safety by flight; sailing for Holland, as *Harris* tell us, he was taken prisoner at sea, and tried for treason in Cornwall; escaping thence he sailed for the Continent, but was once more seized by pirates, and sold as a slave; having paid his ransom, he lived during the following years at Basle and Geneva. On the accession of Elizabeth he returned to England, but never sought to be restored to the See of Ossory.

Bale composed several Miracle-Plays, some of which are still extant. Long before the intrusion of Bale into the See of Ossory it was customary to perform such plays at the Market-cross, and they continued to be performed there long after his time down to the Cromwellian usurpation. From a fact recorded in the Life of Dr. Peter Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, we learn that such Plays were in use in Kilkenny throughout Queen Mary's reign. That illustrious Archbishop had been interred with other deceased members of the Ormonde family in St. Canice's Cathedral. The clergy of Cashel being dissatisfied with this arrangement, used every effort, but in vain that his remains should be translated to Cashel. The Rev. Richard Cody, Treasurer of Cashel, at length succeeded in effecting by stratagem what they had failed to obtain by entreaty : for, whilst the citizens of Kilkenny were all assembled around the city cross to witness a Miracle-Play in honour of the Most Holy Sacrament, he, with some companions, stealthily entered St. Canice's Cathedral, and, unperceived, carried off the Archbishop's remains, and placed them with due reverence in the monument which, whilst living, he had himself prepared in Cashel. But to return to Bale, his writings acquired some celebrity among the Lutherans and Calvanists on the Continent, where they were nearly all composed. They are full, however, of the vilest calumnies against the religious orders and of attacks against the Holy See, and are written with characteristic acrimony of style. For this reason Fuller, in his *Catalogue of English Writers*, says "Bale knew not how to moderate his passions, and hence deservedly received the agnomen *Biliosus Balæus*." Montacutus also (in *Apparat.*, §83) styles him, "impotentis linguæ et calami scriptor." Pitseus is still more severe, for he thus epitomizes Bale's character, "omnia foedissimus scurra mendaciis et calumniis replevit." Andrew Valery, in his preface to the *Bibliotheca Belgica*, writes: "Joannes Balæus homo impius quidem, nominari tamen hoc loco vel ideo potuit ut

quis e sordibus gemmas legat;" and in fine, Gerrard Vossius condemns his bad faith in treating of the early writers, "unum scio in priorum sæculorum scriptoribus non raro Balæi fidem claudicare" (*De Historicis Latinis*, lib. i. cap. 32, pag. 170). Dr. Rothe, who must have well known his true character, is content to describe him at one time as "a drunken Iconoclast," at another as "an immoral miscreant." Such was the character of this boasted champion of the established church in our island! And yet Bale was one of those to whom the Royal Commission of Queen Elizabeth was addressed for the consecration of Archbishop Parker.

Bale died at Canterbury, in November, 1563, "in Dr. Bulleyn's house, adjoining the mint," and was interred in the nave of the Cathedral. As he was living in the first years of Elizabeth's reign, the question may be asked: Did the Government, during these years, recognize Bale as Bishop of Ossory? It seems to me quite clear that it did, and that it gave no recognition to Dr. O'Thonory. Dr. Brady, in "Episcopal Succession" vol. i., pag. 363, holds, on the contrary, that the Government did not recognise either Bishop, and he appeals to a State Paper, published by Shirley, which describes the See of Ossory as vacant in 1561. The State Paper referred to, however, is only by mere conjecture, assigned to the probable date of 1561 or 1562. The memorandum is as follows:—

"The Bishoprics void in Ireland:

Archbishopric of Armagh	...	..	£200	0	0	
„ of Cashel	...	...	£60	15	4	
Bishopric of Ossory	...	...	£120	0	0	Baal.

The names of men eligible to the same places:

The Bishop of Kildare: D. Bale: Mr. Dethick: Mr. Leverosse: Mr. Bicton, Dean of Kilkenny, £26 13s 4d."

If we examine the matter attentively we will find that this Memorandum must not be referred to 1561, but rather to the close of 1552. We find that Hugh Goodacre was appointed to the See of Armagh, by a letter of Privy Seal, dated 28th of October, 1552, whilst at the same time Cashel and Ossory were vacant. For this reason Bale's name is set opposite the See of Ossory, as he was marked out for this appointment. Leverous was already Bishop in 1561, but in 1552 had not as yet received any Ecclesiastical preferment: and Bicton, Dean of

Kilkenny, who is mentioned as one of those eligible for one of the vacant Sees, died, as we learn from Cotton's *Fasti*, precisely in October, 1552. Thus the Memorandum has no reference to the See in Elizabeth's reign, and is erroneously assigned by Mr. Shirley and Dr. Brady to the year 1561.

There is another State Paper, however, which bears upon the subject. It is the "Instructions given to Sir Henry Sydney," dated July 4th, 1565, in which we read: "Her Majesty, understanding that the Archbishopric of Cashel and the Bishopric of Ossory had been long void, whereby hath grown lack to the Ecclesiastical Government there, would have it considered whether because these two livings are very meanly endowed, it were not meet to unite these two together, so as the living might be meet for some person of such behaviour, as being Bishop thereof, might serve as a Councilor there in Munster hereafter, when a Council should be there established for governance of the same parts." (*Shirley*, Original Letters, pag. 207.) When the See of Ossory is here described as "a long time vacant," the reference can scarcely be to the death of Thonory (if he were as yet dead), but rather to the death of Bale, who died in 1563. We learn also from Cox in "Hibernia Anglicana" (I. 300), that when the Protestant Bishop of Ossory, in 1619, appealed to the Courts to recover the lands of Freinston, Seskin, Tescoffin, and Grange-cool-pobble, the leases made by O'Thonory of these lands were declared null, "because Bale was never deprived, and therefore, he being alive at the time the lease was made, continued Bishop in Law, and so Thonory had no power to dispose of anything belonging to that See." It is sufficiently clear from this fact, that in those days Dr. O'Thonory was not considered to hold a place in the Protestant line of the Bishops of Ossory. In the First Fruit Rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin, our Prelate is returned as a defaulter to the Crown, the various sums not paid at his death amounting to £68 6s. 8d.

It may seem strange, perhaps, that whilst the transfer of the minor temporalities was declared null, the important manor and lands at Uppercourt, were allowed to remain in the hands of Sir Richard Shea. This gentleman, however, was wise in the ways of this world, and as he was desirous to secure so valuable a property he is said to have privately obtained for a consideration a grant of the same from Bale. It remained in possession of the family till the Cromwellian

confiscation when Luke Shea was driven from it, and the place was handed over to Sir George Ayscue, from whom the Protestant Bishop endeavoured in vain to wrest it during the reign of Charles the Second.

THOMAS STRONG. A.D. 1582-1601.

For some years the See of Ossory remained vacant, being administered in the mean time by Vicars who received their appointment from the Primate or other Representative of the Holy See. Thomas Strong was at length appointed Bishop in 1582. His name in some of the comtemporary records is written Strang and Strange.

He was born in the City of Waterford, in the year 1547, and having made his preparatory studies in the excellent Catholic Schools, for which that City was remarkable, he proceeded to the continent and spent several years in France and Spain, pursuing there the higher branches of sacred science. In the Consistorial record of his appointment to the See of Ossory, he is styled "Presbyter Waterfordiensis." A Vatican list of the Irish Clergy, drawn up in 1579, gives us, under the heading of "Priests studying on the Continent," the name of "Thomas Strong, living in Paris, and aged 32 years." He is also named in another Vatican list, drawn up about the same time, among those "Priests who are faithfully labouring in Ireland, or who could be without difficulty transferred to the mission there." In this list, in the fourth place is the entry: "D. Thomas Strong, Waterfordiensis: hic tenet utramque linguam Anglicam et Hibernicam, sed melius Anglicam."

Dr. Strong being present in Rome, was nominated for the See of Ossory, at the Consistory of 28th of March, 1582. The following is the official record preserved in the Consistorial Diary of the Cardinal Titular of S. Severina: "Die 28, Martii, 1582. D. Cardinalis Senonensis, Protector Iberniae proposuit Ecclesiam Ossoriensem in Ibernia, a multis annis vacantem per obitum bon. mem. Johannis, ultimi illius Episcopi, pro Domino Thoma Strong, Presbytero Iberno qui omnibus annuentibus fuit a SS. D. Nostro in Episcopum praefectus et pastorem illius Ecclesiae." The Consistorial Records preserved at the Vallicellian Library in Rome add some additional particulars: "Die 28. Martii 1582. Sua Sanctitas referente Card Senonensi providit Ecclesiae Ossoriensi in Provincia Dubliniensi, a pluribus annis vacanti per obitum Joannis O'Thonery in dicta

dioecesi defuncti, per Thomam Strong, Presbyterum Waterfordiensem, Doctorem Theologiae, in Curia presentem." In the Consistorial Acts of *Corsini* Library, Rome, the name is written Strongh and the See is described as vacant "per obitum bon. mem. Joannis, ultimi Episcopi." In the *Barberini* Acts he is called Stronge.

The Vatican Library preserves the following official record drawn up preparatory for the Consistory by the Cardinal Protector of Ireland:—

"Propositio Ecclesiæ Ossoriensis facta in Consistorio, 29 Martii, 1582.

"Illustrissime et Reverendissime Domine,

"In proxime futuro Consistorio Ego Nicholaus de Pelluno Cardinalis Senonensis, Protector Hyberniæ, proponam Ecclesiam Ossoriensem in ea parte Hyberniæ quæ dicitur Lagenia in provincia Dublinensi.

Ecclesia prædicta est sub invocatione Sancti Canici Abbatis: habet Canonicos et Capellanos: pulchræ et honestæ est structuræ; res habens pro cultu divino necessarias.

Diœcesis magna est et extensa ad 40 miliaria Hybernica, et incolæ fere omnes sunt hæretici.

De fructibus nihil testes certi sciunt ob bella jam ferventia in dicta diœcesi, sed taxantur in libro Cameræ Apostolicæ ad 200 florenos.

Vacat a pluribus annis per obitum Reverendissimi D. Johannis Othoneri ultimi illius Episcopi in dicta diœcesi defuncti; licet per potentiam et tirannidem prætensæ Reginæ Angliæ ad præsens reperiatur intrusus quidam Nicolaus Walsh schismaticus.

R. D. Thomas Strong promovendus, est Hybernus, Presbyter Waterfordiensis diœcesis, ætatis circiter annorum 35, presens in Curia, idoneus natalibus, vita, et conversatione, Doctor Theologus; gratissimus erit Principibus Catholicis et populo Ossoriensi propter ejus fratrem qui potens est, habetque multum jurisdictionis in diœcesi dicta Ossoriensi, et alios ejus amicos et fautores.

Emisit professionem fidei in manibus meis. Petitur expeditio gratis attenta exiguitate fructuum et qualitate personæ promovendæ, more Hibernico."

Dr. Strong was consecrated in Rome on the 5th of April, and set out without delay for Ireland. During the preceding months, however, dark clouds had been fast gathering over our country. The

repeated defeats of the southern forces, the assassination of the Earl of Desmond, and the death of the Papal envoy, Dr. Sanders, had broken the hopes of the Irish chieftians, and the newly consecrated Bishop judged it expedient to tarry for a while in Spain, it being perilous alike for himself and for his flock to enter then on his missionary labours. In the summer of 1583, we meet with him in Lisbon, under the assumed name of Philip Fitzthomas, awaiting an opportunity of setting sail for the Irish coast. On the 1st of September, that year, the Mayor and Recorder of Limerick conveyed to the Earl of Ormonde the intelligence that two Limerick merchants had just arrived from Lisbon. Two days before their departure from the Portughese Capital, an agent of James Eustace, the recognized leader of the Irish cause, had arrived there with instructions to provide lodgings for his master and three Irish Bishops, viz., the Bishops of Killaloe, Limerick, and Ossory. It was the intention of these Prelates to await there the return of the Spanish fleet from Terceiras and to accompany it to Ireland. (State Papers. Rolls Office.) A few weeks after the date of that letter, Dr. Strong landed in disguise on the Southern coast. At this time the storm of persecution against the Clergy was at its height, and it was only in secular dress, "in ruffling apparel, with gilt rapier and sword," that the zealous Bishop could minister to his flock. For a few months he braved every peril, and had the merit of enduring many hardships and of suffering a great deal from the enemies of the Faith, "Catholicæ fidei causa et Ecclesiæ, permulta et gravissima a persecutoribus sustulit." (*Triumphalia S. Crucis.*) But at length, before the close of summer in 1584, he was compelled to seek refuge in Spain. His former companion, the Bishop of Killaloe, conveyed this intelligence to the Holy See on the 29th October, 1584: "Thomas Ossoriensis Episcopus mansit in Hibernia aliquot mensibus in habitu sæculari tandem contulit se ex Hibernia ad Hispaniam." The remaining fifteen years of his life he lived in Compostella an exile from his See and from his native land. He did not pass this time in idleness, however, but laboured in season and out of season, "Post multos sudores laboresque transactos in Compostellana civitate et Diœcesi," &c. (*Lynch MS.*,) faithfully discharging the duties of the Episcopal office as Auxiliary of the Archbishop of Compostella. He was also elected Dean of the Chapter of that venerable See, and on his death,

the 20th of January, 1601, he was interred in the cloister of the Cathedral and a marble monument was erected there to perpetuate his memory. During his exile at Compostella he trained up to piety and prepared for the Priesthood his nephew, Thomas Walsh, who, in after years, became a bright ornament of the Irish Church as Archbishop of Cashel. See *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, II. 138. The contemporary St. Leger, S.J., when commemorating this fact takes occasion to style Dr. Stronge "a man conspicuous for the sanctity of his life and for his learning, and an exile for the Faith."

Kilkenny, at this time, has been described by Fynes Moryson as "a pleasant town, the chief of the towns within land, memorable for the civility of the inhabitants, for the husbandmen's labour, and the pleasant orchards." Camden also writing in 1590 speaks of it as "a neat, elegant, and populous municipal town, far and away the best of the inland towns of Ireland." From some "informations" forwarded to the crown we learn the names of two priests who, in the year 1592, were ministering to the spiritual wants of our people: "George Power, priest, dwelling at Kilkenny, and Patrick O'Hologhan, priest, dwelling with Robert Rothe, at Kilkenny." Rev. George Power, to whom reference is here made, administered the See of Ossory for a considerable time as Vicar-General, whilst the Bishop, Dr. Strong, was in exile. After many years of toil in the sacred ministry he, in his old age, was arrested and dragged to Dublin to give an account of his faith. From the *Analecta* we learn that he suffered many hardships in the Dublin prison, and had at length the merit of there laying down his life for Christ about the year 1599. "Georgius Poërus Kilkenniensis Sacerdos, et Vicarius Generalis Dioecesis Ossoriensis, in aetate senili Dublinum pertractus pro fide Catholica responsurus, bonam fecit confessionem coram publico tribunali, conjectus in ergastulum, et miseriis oppletus, aerumnosam vitam cum morte in vinculis commutavit anno circiter 1599." (*Analecta*, part 3rd.)

On the death of Queen Elizabeth the people in several towns restored the churches to Catholic worship, and hopes were entertained that James the First, the son of a martyr mother, would prove himself more favourable than his predecessor to the Faith of his fathers. At the invitation of the citizens, the Rev. Dr. James White, Vicar Apostolic of Waterford and Lismore, came to Kilkenny and solemnly re-dedicated St. Mary's Church, whilst another priest

deputed by him performed the same ceremony at St Patrick's. The church of Thomastown was reconciled by Rev. Thomas Woodlock, and the church of Our Lady at Dunkitt by Rev. William Nongle and Peter Strang. The church of the Black Abbey in Kilkenny had been used as a court-house during Elizabeth's reign. It is the tradition that the High-altar was used as the Bench from which at the Assizes many were the sentences pronounced against the Catholics who refused to sacrifice their faith. F. William Raughter, a Dominican, with the approval of the Corporation now removed all the trappings of the court and restored the church to its primitive sacred use. The Vicar Apostolic in a statement which he presented to the Sovereign Pontiff in 1604 attests that "all these churches, both in the country and cities, and most remarkable towns were reconciled with the approbation, and at the request of the inhabitants of the respective localities: the service of the Catholic Church was solemnly and publicly performed in them every day to the inexpressible consolation and joy of the people." He adds: "on the eve of the festival of Corpus Christi I went from Waterford to Kilkenny, in order to celebrate that festival with all possible solemnity, because of the immense number of Catholics in the latter city, and the crowds that flocked thither from all parts of Ireland to reverence the wood of the Holy Cross on that day. I went by invitation of the citizens, and gladly, for their consolation and the glory of God." He further states that though the Queen died on the 24th of March the news did not reach Ireland till the 9th of April, as soon, however, as the news arrived "we began to purify the churches on the Monday of Passion-week, and during the whole octave of Easter, and down to the 3rd of May, the Festival of the Holy Cross, we enjoyed full and peaceable possession of the Churches."

It was on the 4th of May that Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, having entered Waterford with a large body of troops sent orders that the churches should be again closed against the Catholics. In Kilkenny the order seems not to have been heeded. Walter Archer was at this time *Sovereign* or Chief Magistrate of Kilkenny. He refused to have hand or part in the desecration of the Black Abbey Church, which had been re-consecrated on the death of Queen Elizabeth; nor would he enforce the holding of the Sessions there. For this he was thrown into prison, and by his constancy proved the

firmness of his faith: "constantiam in fide suam probavit longa carceris fatigatione" (*Analecta*). Though liberated from prison he bore with him to the Continent the disease contracted there, of which he died in exile, the 24th of August, 1604. It may appear strange to designate the Chief Magistrate of Kilkenny its *Sovereign*; however, it was only in the year 1609 that the town was raised to the dignity of a city, and that the privileges of a Mayor and Corporation were assigned to it. The title of *Sovereign* was originally written *Suffren*, and was probably derived from the Latin *Suffraganeus*, the Chief Magistrate being supposed to be an assistant or representative of the Lord Deputy in the administration of the law in the Borough towns. Owing to the firmness of Archer it would appear that Lord Mountjoy's orders produced no immediate effect in Kilkenny, and we find John Horsfall, the Protestant Bishop of Ossory, complaining to the Government in the following year that the Catholic clergy, for whom he has no better name than "Romish caterpillars," exercised their sacred functions with impunity. His letter is dated from Bishopslough, the 8th of June, 1604, and is inserted as follows in the 1st volume of 'State Papers relating to Ireland in the reign of James the First.' (page 178):—

"BISHOP OF OSSORY (JOHN HORSFALL) TO THE DEPUTY AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND.

"Pursuant to their letter of 1st May, requiring him to certify into the Exchequer by the first Trinity term, the names of all impropriate churches within his diocese, he has returned a schedule of them, amounting to the number of 80, to the Chief Baron of the Exchequer. There is difficulty in carrying out their order for the repairing of the bodies of churches by a tax to be raised on the parishes, for the people generally are so misled with superstitious idolatry that they altogether scorn their church censures; and if he crave temporal assistance for the correction of the contumacious, there is neither sheriff nor other officer that will put these writs in execution, so that without extraordinary commission he will hardly prevail in executing those works. That they may the better imagine the truth of this report he encloses a catalogue which shows how many Romish caterpillars abiding in this diocese, prevent the hope of the Lord's harvest for even on Sunday last they set their mass publicly on foot again in their late hallowed Abbey in Kilkenny, which they undertook to the Lord Lieutenant to alter to a sessions house as it formerly was.

P.S.—Right honourable, there is one Richard Foley in the Irishtown at Kilkenny who keeps continual Mass in his house, as I am informed; and whether I will or no, there resorteth to him divers priests and other people of the uptown, very dangerous for infecting that town, which, God be praised, is yet clear, and, notwithstanding my often admonitions, he obstinately persisteth in the same."

(ENCLOSURE.)

PRIESTS IN THE DIOCESE OF OSSORY IN IRELAND.

"The names of such people, priests, seminaries, and Jesuits as are in my diocess of Ossory:

Sir John Murphy,
Sir John Fitz Robert,
Sir John Power,
Sir Henry Fleminge,
Sir James Joyce,
Sir John Madygan,
Sir Murtogh Odowly,
Sir Philip Moore,
Sir John Brenan,
Sir Edmond Barrye,
Sir Peter Stronge,
Sir William Morin,
Sir William Wogall,
Sir Patrick Bolger,
Sir Patrick Bowden,
Father Archer (so termed),
Sir Lawrence Reynaghan,
Sir Patrick Harre,
Sir Thomas Browne,
Sir Edward Seixe,
Sir William Lawless,
Sir Pierce Archer,
Sir Luke Archer,
Sir Walter Costegan,
Sir Teig Dungan,
Sir Donyll O'Foylan,
Sir Donyll Gaffney,
Sir Conoghor O'Doran,
Sir William Brenan,
Sir Robert Cantwell."

It is to be held in mind that the title *Sir* in those times was used to designate the clergy, as the title *Rev.* is used at the present day. Two of those named by the Protestant Bishop in his Letter are found a few years later labouring in neighbouring Dioceses. Rev. Murtagh O'Dowly was Vicar General in Kildare in 1612, and Rev. Luke Archer was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Leighlin in 1603, and again on the 7th of March, 1614.

In another private "information," forwarded to Sir Arthur Chichester, in the year 1608, it is stated that the Rev. Murtagh Dowly was at that time in charge of Callan, and that Father Delabyde had charge of Kilkenny, where he resided "with sixteen Popish Priests, the chief whereof is Rev. William Brennan, Vicar-General, and Rev. Patrick Hoyne."

After the death of Dr. Power about the year 1599, the Rev. Lawrence Reynaghan continued to govern the Diocese as Vicar-General for some years. Rev. William Brennan also held that office till, in 1609, he entered the Franciscan Order,

where he was known as Father Bernard. A MS. of St. Isidore's, written in 1617, says of Father Brennan that "he was a Priest and a Thelogian, and for some years (aliquot annis) held the post of Vicar-General of the Diocese of Ossory, during the vacancy of the See, but at length renouncing that dignity, and the other titles which he enjoyed he voluntarily assumed the habit of St. Francis in the year 1609: he died soon after whilst engaged in preaching at the Downs in Flanders." Rev. Richard Fitzgerald succeeded him as Vicar-General of Ossory and continued to hold that office till the appointment of Dr. Rothe.

DAVID ROTHE. A.D. 1618-1650.

The Rothe family held a prominent place among the citizens of Kilkenny in the 16th century, and on the monuments of that time, that are still preserved, we often find their coat of arms, a red stag recumbent beneath a wide-spreading oak, with the motto *virtute non vi.* Geoffry Rothe, the father of our Bishop, was a wealthy merchant, and amid the many vicissitudes of those perilous times remained devoted to the faith of his fathers. He died in 1570. David was the youngest of eight sons, and was born in the year 1568. "David Rothus clara familia latifundiis et opulentia ante nuperum bellum potente, anno 1568 Kilkenniæ natus est, octo liberorum ultimus ac tum solummodo bimus." *(Lynch's MS.)* When only two years of age he became an orphan by his father's death, but his guardians watched over his education with the greatest care. Being instructed in the rudiments at home, he pursued the higher branches of the classics and philosophy in the Irish College at Douai, and subsequently read with great distinction his Theological course in the University of Salamanca. We meet with him in Rome in the year 1602, and he continued to reside for some years in the eternal city, discharging the duties of secretary of the illustrious Archbishop of Armagh, Peter Lombard, who, as we are told by Lynch in the MS. History of the Irish Bishops, formed a very high estimate of his prudence and ability. In the year 1610 he returned to Ireland, having received from the Holy See the title of Prothonotary and Vicar Apostolic of Ossory, and being appointed by the Primate his Deputy and Vicar General for the Diocese of Armagh.

Dr. Rothe set to work at once with devoted zeal to discharge the onerous duties imposed on him. He visited the faithful, particularly

in his native diocese of Ossory, instructing them in the truths of religion, comforting them in the many trials to which they were exposed, and dispensing to them the blessings of the Holy Sacraments. Several special commissions of importance and delicacy were at the same time entrusted to him by the Holy See. One of these regarded the dissensions between the Secular and Regular Clergy which were beginning to show themselves and to cause anxiety to everyone who had at heart the welfare of the Irish Church. The friendly and authoritative remonstrances of Dr. Rothe had the desired effect, and peace and harmony were soon restored. A warm controversy was for a time carried on between the Cistercian Abbot, Paul Ragged, and Dr. Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, the former being supposed to have encroached on the jurisdiction of the latter. Both parties appealed to Rome to assert their respective claims. Cardinal Maffei Barberini, who was in after years raised to the Pontificate under the name of Urban the Eighth, was at this time Protector of the Irish Church, and by his letters of 19th of November, 1611, the whole matter in dispute was, by order of the Pope, referred to the Vicar Apostolic of Ossory, David Rothe. So successful was he in healing the wounds of dissension that in after times the closest friendship was cemented between the illustrious Archbishop and the Abbot. The ability and prudence displayed by Dr. Rothe on those occasions were duly appreciated in Rome, and the thanks of the Holy Father were conveyed to him by letter of the Cardinal Protector, dated the 13th of May, 1613.

As early as the year 1611, various petitions were presented to the Holy See, praying that David Rothe would be appointed Bishop of the vacant see of Ossory. This was at length granted in 1613, and his appointment was duly decreed, and the Consistorial acts were prepared; but partly through the unwillingness of Dr. Rothe to accept the Episcopal dignity, and partly in consequence of the tempest of persecution which then arose, it was deemed more prudent to postpone for a time his definitive appointment to this See.

Among the MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin, are preserved two lists of the Clergy of Ossory at this period. The first (E. 3. 15. fol. 6) was manifestly addressed to some member of the Government, and is entitled "The names of sundrie priests and friars within some dioceses and counties of Ireland, that you may see what number of priests were come over, and whether it were not time to look to their seduc-

ing of the subjects." It gives us the following names of the Clergy dwelling in the county of Kilkenny: "David Rothe, Prothonotary from the Pope for the business of this realm. Paul Ragged of the Order of Saint Bernard, Abbot; Luke Archer, Vicar of Ossory; Brien O'Gallaughoire, Henry Fleming, priests; Tiege O'Duigin, Brian Kearneie, Thomas Brehon, Jesuits; Thomas Houghan, William Lawles, priests; Laurence Reinie, Moriertagh O'Dowling, Patrick O'Huony, Patrick Bolger, Edmond Seix, priests; Nicholas Maro, Nicholas Lee, William Relie, Franciscan friars; John Brenan, priest; James Coyfe, Teige Helly, Robert Cantwell, John Archdeacon, Teige O'Dwygin, Donagh O'Hely, Daniel O'Enney, John Shea, priests."

The other list is still more valuable, as it not only gives many additional names, but further assigns the families or individuals who in those times of suffering afforded a shelter and a home to the persecuted clergy. It dates from the year 1613, and is marked E. 3. 15. fol. 11. b. among the T.C.D. MSS. The complete text of this important list is as follows: —

"A note of the names of the Priests, Commissaries, Friars, and Jesuits, together with their relievers, and maintainers in the City of Kilkenny."

"Imprimis, one David Rothe, titular Bishop of Ossory, keepeth for the most part with his brother, Edward Rothe, merchant, when he is in the city, and when he is abroad with my Lord Viscount Mountgarret at Balline.

"Item. Dr. White, a seditious Priest, when he resorteth to the city, keepeth with his brother-in-law, Henry Shee, Esq., now Mayor of the city. Besides, he maintaineth with him one Thomas Morough, a preacher, a native of the said city, who, when he was in the county keepeth with Mr. Purcell, of Ballyfoyle, gentleman.

"Item. Meltheir Ragged, a Franciscan Friar, keepeth usually with his Father, Richard Ragged of the said city, Alderman, and is reputed as Lord Abbot of the Monastery of Dwiske, within the county of Kilkenny.

"Item. Father Brien, otherwise named O'Carne, a Jesuit and Preacher, hath his residence in Sir Richard O'Shea's house in said city, and there is at this instant kept and maintained by the Lady Shea, wife to the said Sir Richard Shea. (F. Brian O'Kearney was a very distinguished Jesuit, and brother of the Archbishop of Cashel.)

"Item. Sir Thomas Houghan, priest, keepeth with Mr. John Roch Fitz Pierce, Alderman.

"Item. One Nogle, a priest, a native born, keepeth with Mr. Nicholas Langton, Alderman.

"Item. Sir William Lawless, priest, keepeth for the most part with Robert Roch, Esq.

"Item. Sir Laurence Reinaghan, supposed General Vicar from the Pope, keepeth in the said city, having open Mass, and is relieved especially by Mr. Thomas Archer Fitz Walter, and has an annual stipend from the said city.

"Item. Sir Patrick Hoane, priest, a native born, keepeth in the said city, and says Mass publicly.

"Item. Father Lucas Archer, priest, brother to Patrick Archer, Esq., keepeth with his brother-in-law, one Richard Archer.

"Item. Sir Patrick Bolger, priest, doth usually say Mass at one Lattice Shea's house, widdow. (Lattice, known by her maiden name of O'Shea, was daughter of Sir Richard O'Shea, of Kilkenny, and was the widow of John Grace, surnamed 'the Generous,' Baron of Courtstown, who died in the year 1602.)

"Item. Sir Edmond Seix, priest, sayeth Mass ordinarily at his brother's house, one Robert Savage, and when he is abroad keepeth with Sir Richard Butler, of Pawlstowne, Knight.

"Item. One William Maureib, a Franciscan, doth commonly say Mass within St. Francis's Abbey, in the said city.

"Item. Father Wall keepeth with one Nicholas Wall, brasier, in said city.

"Item. One Sir Thomas Brehon, priest, keepeth with his father, John Brehon, in the said city.

"A note of the names of such Priests, Semynarists, Friars, and Jesuits, together with their relievers and maintainers, as are in the County of Kilkenny:—

"Imprimis, one David Kearney, a titular Archbishop of Cashel, keepeth for the most part at the Upper Court with Lucas Shea, Esq.

"Item. Sir John Brenan, priest, keepeth for the most part with Mr. Edward Butler, of the old Abbey, gentleman. (Edward Butler, of the Old Abbey, was afterwards Viscount Galmoy.)

"Item. Sir John Murphy, priest, keepeth altogether at Thomastowne.

"Item. Sir James Foyse and one Father Murtagh, priests, keep at Callan.

"Item. Sir Teige O'Hely, priest, keepeth with Walter Walsh, in the Mountain, Esq. (Walter Walsh, of the Mountain, was also known as Lord of the Walsh country, and Walsh of Castle Hoel: reference is made to him in the Memoirs of the Grace family, page 57: around his castle grew up the town now called Ballyhale.)

"Item. Sir Thomas Daton, priest, keepeth with Mr. Daton, of Kilmodaly, gentleman.

"Item. Sir Richard Marub, priest, keepeth with Mr. James Butler, gentleman, brother to the Lord Mountgarret; also he maintaineth one Father Matthew Roche, priest, who goeth once every year into Spain. (James Butler was at this time the owner of Duiske Abbey, at Graiguenamanagh, and had also a residence at Low-Grange, County Kilkenny: Rev. Matthew Roche was the Vicar Apostolic of Leighlin, of whom we have already spoken.)

"Item. Teige O'Ffagan, priest, keepeth with Richard Comerford of Ballyburr, gentleman.

"Item. John Coppinger, *alias* Father Coppinger, keepeth for the most part with the Lord Mountgarret.

"Item. Sir Harry Ffleming, priest, keepeth at Dunfert.

"Item. Sir Robert Cantwell, priest, keepeth most with Mrs. Mary Fitz Gerrald, *alias* Cantwell, widdow.

"Item. Sir John Archedeacon, priest, keepeth at Knocktoffer.

"Item. Sir Piers Stronge, keepeth at Dunkitt.

"Item. Sir William M'Mahon, priest, keepeth with John Walsh of Kilcregan (in Iverk), gentleman.

"Item. Sir Edward Archer, priest, keepeth with the Baron of Burnchurch. [In the margin, *quaere*].

"Item. Sir Thomas Woodlock, priest, keepeth with Nicholas Fitzthomas, of the Gartens (near Carrick-on-Suir), gentleman.

"Item. Sir Teige O'Duigen, priest, keepeth with Mr. Robert Grace, of Courtstown. (Robert Grace, surnamed 'the Orator,' was Baron of Courtstown and M.P. for Kilkenny in the Parliaments of 1613 and 1634: he enfeoffed Sir Robert Jones, of Doranstown, County Meath, in his estates, died in 1640, and was interred in St. Canice's Cathedral).

"Item. Sir John Madden, priest, keepeth with Richard Grant, of Corladuffe (now Curraduff), gentleman.

"Item. Sir John Fitzrobert, priest, keepeth at the Grange.

"Item. Sir Donnell O'Howley, priest, keepeth at Bawenmore, (in the parish of Urlingford), under Mr. McCodye.

"Item. Sir Philippe More, priest, keepeth at Dunnamagon.

"Item. Mr. Brooksbury, of Castleliffe (in Farlstown parish, near Callan), keepeth an English priest, whose name is unknown, to whom do resort the Baron of Burnchurch and his tenants every Sunday.

"Item. Mr. Naspoole, of Polerath, likewise keepeth an English priest, whose name is unknown.

"Item. One Father Archer, keepeth with Elinor Shortall, of Ballylorcan, Esq, who also keepeth another chaplain.

"Item. Sir Patrick Bowden, priest, is commonly at Radestowne. (Radstown is in the barony of Gowran, and parish of St. John's, Kilkenny.)

"Item. Sir Lucas Archer, priest, is commonly maintained by Mr. Denham, gentleman, dwelling near Thomastown, and four miles from Kilkenny.

"Item. Sir Donogh O'Hely, priest, maintained by Walter Walsh, who dwells twelve miles from Kilkenny.

"Item. Donnell O'Gonney, priest, who dwelleth at Ballyraggett, a town of my Lord Mountgarrett.

"Item. John Shea, priest, resident for the most part at William Comerford's, at Kilkenny, gentleman, in the parish of Fartie the Small (now Ferta, near Johnstown), in the said County.

"Brien McMurrough, a Franciscan preacher, Abbot of Ffarney (*i.e.* Multifernan.) He keepeth about Clonmel.

"Thomas Maurey, or Murrie, Jesuit, keepeth in or about Kilkenny also.

"Thomas McDonoghe, Vice-Primate of Ardmagh, a Franciscan friar. He keeps commonly in the cantred of Clonmell, a great preacher."

[In margin is added, "There is 60 or 70 priests at this day within the cantred of Clonmell, whereof 25 have been made within this year 1613. Affirmed by Mr. Pierce Butler, now made Sheriff of the Cross (*i.e.*, the Cross of Tipperary), who promiseth to certify their names if it be required."]

At the end of the list of the clergy of Kilkenny we find the following short note:—

"A note of the Romish Priests in Wexford that are mentioned there:—

"Sir William Furlong; Sir John Waddinge; Sir William Devorouxe; Sir John Gerrald; Sir Richard Stafford.

"A note of the Romish Priests in Ross that are maintained there:

"Sir David Dowell; Sir Matthew Roche; Sir James Fitznicholas."

For several of the explanatory notes added in the above list, I am indebted to a MS. of the late Rev. James Hughes, Professor of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, who took the deepest interest in all matters connected with the history of Ireland, and especially of his native county, Kilkenny.

In the year 1614 a Provincial Synod of the Ecclesiastical Province of Dublin was convened and held in Kilkenny by Most Rev. Dr. Eugene Matthews, Archbishop of Dublin. This was by far the most important Synod that Ireland had witnessed since the beginning of the sad era of persecution, and its Statutes mark the renewal of such disciplinary observance as the difficult circumstances of the times permitted. The Synod was probably held in Mr. Edward Rothe's house, and besides the Archbishop of Dublin and Dr. Rothe, there were present Robert Lalor, Vicar Apostolic of Kildare; Luke Archer, Vicar Apostolic of Leighlin; and James Walsh, Vicar General of Ferns. I need not dwell further on this Synod, as its Statutes have been already analyzed at considerable length in the Transactions of the Ossory Archæological Society.

Kilkenny, though suffering a great deal, was nevertheless, at this period one of the districts, perhaps, the least exposed to the storm of persecution. It had, moreover, the consolation of witnessing the conversion of Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, sirnamed the Black Earl, who, towards the close of his life, was reconciled to the Catholic Church. Dr. Rothe availed himself of the short interval of comparative peace which he thus enjoyed to revive the fervent practices of piety among the faithful in Ossory, and also to stretch out a helping hand to his brother clergy, exposed to the full fury of the tempest in other Dioceses. In the second part of the Analecta we find inserted a long *Paraenesis* or Exhortatory Letter of Dr. Rothe dated the 17th December, 1611, which was addressed to all the Irish Priests and laity suffering

for the Faith, and in particular to the heroic Dr. O'Devany, Bishop of Down and Connor, then a prisoner in Dublin, and soon after found worthy of the Martyr's crown. When the Parliament was summoned in 1613, he published another expostulatory Address to the Catholic members reminding them of the duty which they owed to their country and the Church, and exhorting them to display unflinching firmness in the defence of justice and truth. In 1616 Dr Rothe published the first part of the *Analecta*, and dedicated it to the Prince of Wales. We will hereafter treat at greater length of this work so invaluable in its details regarding the sufferings of the Irish Catholics during James the First's reign. If Dr. Rothe had hoped that, by his appeal to the Prince of Wales, the injustice to which the Catholics were exposed would be redressed, he was quickly undeceived. New and more rigorous decrees were issued by the Viceroy, Sir Arthur Chichester, and his successor, St. John, especially against the Bishops and Priests who were commanded to depart from every part of the kingdom before an appointed day, whilst instructions were given to the Judges of Assize and the officers of the Crown to proceed with the utmost rigour against those who would fail to comply with this command, and against all who might be supposed to harbour them. Sir Arthur Chichester was one of the most ferocious enemies of the Irish Catholics that had as yet filled the post of Viceroy. He used to say that his predecessors did not know how to deal with the Papists, and he swore a solemn oath that he would extirpate the Catholic religion from our country. His deeds of persecution kept pace with his words. In the city of Dublin alone nine hundred persons were thrown into prison for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. In Waterford two hundred others were summoned before the judges, and, being found guilty of absenting themselves from the heretical worship, were subjected to heavy penalties. Throughout the country districts the Catholics were treated with the like severity. The greater part of three provinces had been seized by the Crown and allotted to Scotch and English colonists. From the lands thus apportioned to Protestants the Catholic natives were now ordered to depart; fifteen of the old proprietors who refused to comply with the cruel order were bound together in twos or threes, their fetters not being loosened even to relieve the wants of nature; in this state they were thrown into prison, and they all ended their sufferings by death wiithin a few months.

It was whilst Dr. Rothe was compelled by the storm of persecution to seek a temporary refuge in France, that the Holy Father published the decree appointing him Bishop of Ossory. The Consistorial Document is dated the 1st of October, 1618, but it presents unquestionable data to prove that it was drawn up five years earlier, when in 1613 the Holy See had first decreed the appointment of Dr. Rothe to this vacant See. It is as follows :—

"Propositio Ecclesiæ Ossoriensis facta in Consistorio; quæ Ecclesia deinde fuit expedita 1° Octobris, 1618 :

"Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine.

"In proximo Consistorio Ego Fabritius Cardinalis Verallus, Regni Hiberniæ Protector, proponam Ecclesiam Ossoriensem in Hibernia vacantem per obitum bon. mem. Thomæ Strong illius ultimi Catholici Episcopi, a pluribus annis in Hispania defuncti in munere Suffraganei tunc existentis Archiepiscopi Compostellani, quo aufugerat causa persecutionis hæreticorum, in persona R. D. Davidis Rhoti (sic) Presbyteri Ossoriensis.

"Civitas Ossoriensis est in Provincia Lageniæ seu Dublinensi, quæ est satis pulchra, et habet plures Parochiales Ecclesias ac etiam monasteria tam virorum quom mulierum, quæ occupata sunt ab hæreticis.

"Dioecesis est satis ampla, et continet multa oppida et castra cum Parochialibus Ecclesiis ac Monasteriis qnæ ad præsens sunt desolata.

"Ecclesia est sub invocatione Sancti Canici, Abbatis et Confessoris, satis insignis structuræ, et habet chorum, organum, sacristiam, Campanile, campanas, sed caret supellectile sacra quam hæretici occuparunt: habet etiam quatuor Dignitates, et aderat olim Collegium Presbyterorum in communi viventium, nunc autem omnia sunt desolata ob dictam persecutionem. Dicta Ecclesia est suffraganea Archiepiscopi Dublinensis.

Illius fructus sunt taxati in Libris Cameræ ad ducentos florenos auri, sed ad præsens possunt ascendere ad bismille scuta, attamen occupantur a quodam Pseudo—Episcopo a Rege Angliæ ibi deputato, sicut et Palatium Episcopale. Domus autem Dignitatum dictæ Ecclesiæ Cathedrali circumvicinæ, cum illorum redditibus, occupantur ab hæreticis.

Rev. Dominus promovendus est ætatis 48 annorum, Presbyter

a multis annis, de legitimo matrimonio, Catholicis ac primariis illius civitatis parentibus genitus, optimis moribus imbutus, pius et devotus, Magister in Theologia, Prothonotarius Apostolicus, verbi Dei prædicator, et est Vicarius R.P.D., Archiepiscopi Ardmachani, Primatis dicti regni, in quo munere se a pluribus annis bene gessit, estque dignus ut in Episcopum præficiatur. Quæ omnia constant ex processu coram me formato et per Reverendissimos Dominos Capita Ordinum et me subscripto.

Supplicatur pro expeditione gratis prout est solitum fieri pro Hibernis: cum Decreto emittendi professionem ac juramentum fidelitatis præstandi."

In the Consistorial Acts at the Vallicellian Library, the appointment is registered as made in consistory held at the Quirinal, on 1st October, the See being vacant "per obitum bon. mem. Thomæ Strong, de persona Davidis Rothi, Presbyteri Ossoriensis."

Dr. Rothe was without further delay consecrated in Paris, and as soon as the tempest of persecution began to abate, we find him again labouring with devoted zeal among his faithful people in Ossory.

During his stay in Paris he was the guest of the illustrious Lescolopier family, which was remarkable no less for its virtues and wealth than for an incomparable love of Ireland. It was mainly to the exertions and generosity of M. Lescolopier that Ireland was indebted for the establishment on a firm basis of the Parisian Irish College, and he was also the munificent patron of Messingham and others who were just now endeavouring to rescue from oblivion the monuments of our Ecclesiastical history. Dr. Rothe preached in Paris an eloquent panegyric of St. Bridget, patron of Ireland. At the request of M. Lescolopier the substance of that discourse was published, with the title "Brigida Thaumaturga." In this work he not only set forth the praises of our great National Virgin Patron Saint, but also dealt some severe blows to the Scottish writer, Dempster, who was at thistime busily engaged in claiming for his native Caledonia all the chief ornaments of the early Irish Church, whilst displaying at the same time but little respect for the then suffering Church of Ireland. Dr. Rothe proves at considerable length that the many tributes to the literary and religious fame of Scotia in ancient writers are to be referred, not to Scotland, but to Ireland. He also availed himself of the enforced leisure which he enjoyed in Paris to complete his great

work, the ANALECTA, by far the most important historical work which any member of the Irish Hierarchy had as yet contributed to our literature. The first part was published by itself without any indication of place in the year 1616, with the title:

"Analecta Sacra, Nova, et Mira, de rebus Catholicorum in Hibernia, pro fide et religione gestis, Divisa in tres partes quarum

"Prima, quae nunc datur, continet semestrem gravaminum relationem.

"Secunda, Paraenesin ad Martyres designatos.

"Tertia, Processum Martyrialem quorumdam fidei pugilum.

"Relatore et collectore, T. N."

It begins with a Dedicatory Letter to the Prince of Wales, which is followed by an Address to the reader: then comes the Index, with the work itself extending to 245 pages.

When the complete work was published in Cologne in two volumes in 1617 and 1619, dedicated to the Emperor of Germany and all the orthodox Kings and Princes of Europe, the first part was reprinted, with many alterations and additions, and the author was indicated on the title-page by the words: "Collectore et Relatore, T. N., Philadelpho." In this second edition the first part extends to 466 pages, and with the second part is comprised in the first volume, whilst the second volume is entirely devoted to the "*Processus Martyrialis*," or third part of the work. I have entered into these minute details, as whilst I write I happen to have both editions of this very rare work before me, and as several erroneous statements have been made in recent publications, particularly in regard to the first edition. And now a few words as to the contents of this invaluable work.

In the Address to the reader in the first part Dr. Rothe states that he had given it the title of "Semestris gravaminum relatio," because he had written it in six months; and further, because at the time when he composed it, the sufferings, and fines, and penalties which he described were renewed and re-inflicted on the Irish Catholics every six months; but he remarks that now publishing the work in the year 1616, he should rather style it "trimestris Relatio," for by a new edict the Catholics could now be summoned before the magistrates and subjected to those penalties every three months, or even oftener, according to the whims or the malice of those who were in

pursuit of them. To show the lengths to which Protestants carried their malice in persecuting the Catholics, he adds that no Catholic was permitted to dwell in any of the newly-founded colonies, or to carry on trade in them; so much so that when an honest Catholic, ignorant of that law, proceeded to Derry with merchandize, everything he had was seized and confiscated. In this year, 1616, he says, a certain Viscount in Meath, pursuing the Catholics to extort from them the fines for non-attendance at Protestant service, the better to secure his prey, has employed blood-hounds to track the fugitives to their hiding-places. Nor was this enough, he adds, our persecutors insisted that the Catholics should be denied Christian burial, and that their bodies should be interred on the highway with a stake driven through them, and that those who perchance had received Christian burial should be dug up and thrown elsewhere, as happened at Howth, in Dublin. In this matter, however, an intimation from the Government in a timely way tempered the over-ardour of the Protestant clergy. At the Assizes held in the preceding autumn so many of the Catholic jurors were thrown into prison for refusing to bring in a verdict of guilty against the Catholics who were accused of absenting themselves from the Protestant churches that "in some of the prisons they were packed like herrings in a barrel," and the fines inflicted on them, though the culprits were for the most part only humble householders, amounted to 16,000 crowns; but, he adds, this sum will not seem to us so great when we recal to mind that in the one county of Cavan, which is considered one of the rudest and least pretentious counties of the Kingdom, the fines on Catholics for refusing to renounce their faith in one year amounted to £8,000. And, as regards these fines, at first they were applied for the relief of the poor in the respective parishes; then they were restricted to the Protestants who sought relief, all the Catholic poor being excluded from any share in them; then a law was passed that these fines were to be computed as part of the taxes of the kingdom: but now, he says, they pass to private purses and to tne pockets of rapacious ministers, "in privatorum hominum crumenas, et rapacium ministrorum sacculos" (page 51). The Viceroy, St. John, caused the public crier to proclaim in Dublin that John Boyn was appointed chief commissioner to inquire after, and to arrest and to throw into prison all the Catholic priests in Leinster. At Cashel the agents of the Crown rushed into private

houses under the pretence of searching for priests, and carried off as booty whatever they found there. At Kilkenny a priest, a Regular, was seized, having with him the sacred vestments, and was thrown into prison. In Dublin another Religious was seized at the table of a nobleman: the guest and the host were both thrown into prison; but the nobleman on paying a heavy fine was set free after three months' imprisonment, whilst the Religious was still detained in prison. As Catholic jurors could not be cajoled into bringing in sentence against the Catholics who absented themselves from the Protestant churches, the juries were packed with Protestants, and by this means, within the year 1616, about two thousand Catholics were convicted in the County Meath alone, and the trials were carried on in like manner in Dublin, Kildare, and other places (page 359). Dr. Rothe adds that the legal expenses connected with these fines were nearly as oppressive as the fines themselves. The ingenuity of the Puritanical agents was further displayed in another way. The Catholic holidays had been suppressed by Act of Parliament, and it was a great offence to be found observing them: nevertheless these holidays were carefully added when summing up the number of times that the faithful absented themselves from the Protestant service. Moreover, many of the Protestant clergy held more than one parish: sometimes as many as four benefices were assigned to form one living. Hence it often happened that the church would be shut, and no service performed in it: nevertheless this was held to be no excuse when there was question of Catholics absenting themselves from the heretical worship (page 425).

The second part of the "Analecta" consists for the most part of an exhortatory letter, dated the 11th of December, 1611, addressed by Dr. Rothe to the Bishop of Down and Connor and the other Irish clergymen and laymen who were then in prison for the Faith. Incidentally, several most interesting facts are mentioned relating to the sufferings of our people at this sad period of our history. That very year a number of pilgrims had flocked to Monahincha, on the borders of the dioceses of Ossory and Killaloe, but were there attacked and treated with every contumely and insult by the heretical agents. He adds that it was only in the preceding year (1610) that the Bishop, Dr. O'Devany, had himself made this pilgrimage, barefoot, and on his bare knees, notwithstanding his years and infirmities. The Protestants had begun to use special diligence of

late to search out and consign to the flames the old statues and other images of the saints and everything sacred which had escaped the fury of former persecutions, as happened not long ago, he says, at Dunmore, Dunfert, and Knocktopher, in the diocese of Ossory. The city of Kilkenny had given proof of true heroism when the Catholic civic authorities refused to desecrate anew the Black Abbey church which had been restored to Catholic piety on the death of Queen Elizabeth. Three of the leading citizens were for this thrown into prison, where they bore their sufferings with the greatest fortitude, and one of them may be said to have had the privilege of laying down his life for the Faith. Dr. Rothe also mentions Thomastown and other places in Leinster as having been rendered illustrious by the heroism of their citizens in defence of the Catholic faith: "honestata jam et condecorata multis Christi confessoribus" (page 527.)

The Third Part of the "Analecta" which takes up the whole of the second volume, sets forth in detail the sufferings of Richard Creagh, Archbishop of Armagh; Patrick O'Hely, Bishop of Mayo; Dermod O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, and the other heroic champions of truth, who from the commencement of Elizabeth's reign had sealed with their blood their testimony to the Catholic Faith. This portion of the work is particularly invaluable as it presents in an authentic form innumerable details illustrating the lives of our Irish martyrs. To the history of these Martyrs and Confessors for the Faith is added an appendix under the title of "Diasphendon Hiberniæ," that is the "Dismemberment of Ireland," in which the condition of the Irish Church under the new Viceroy, Sir Oliver St. John, is likened to that of a human body bound to two trees, and by their violent separation mercilessly rent asunder. Incidentally it is recorded that the act imposing fines for non-attendance at Protestant service was enforced with the greatest rigour, so much so that in the city of Kilkenny, when the alarm of fire was given, as was too frequently the case, the agents of persecution would hasten to the spot, hoping to pounce upon their victims, and thus the citizens had to run the risk either of being burnt in their houses, or should they be seen abroad, of having to pay fines far beyond their means. To such lengths, indeed, were these exactions carried "not only in Kilkenny, but in most of the other cities of Ireland," that the carpenters, masons, and other artizans and labourers when engaged at their daily work were obliged to keep a

scout on the watch to give notice of the approach of those tax-gatherers.

Dr. Rothe prepared at the same time another shorter work, which was published in English and in Spanish, in which he pathetically described the cruel oppression of Ireland at this time, and invoked the merciful interposition of some of the Catholic powers in her favour. During his stay in Paris he also composed an interesting little work on the glories of Ireland, entitled *Hibernia Resurgens*, which a few years later was published under the pseudonym of *Donatus Roirk*. An excellent copy of this curious treatise is preserved in the Library of the Ossory Archæological Society, presented by Barry Delany, Esq., M.D. It is mainly intended as a reply to the arguments advanced by Dempster and the other writers of Scotland, who claimed for themselves St. Bridget and the other brightest ornaments of Ireland. At page 21 reference is made to the Catalogue of Irish Saints, published by Father Fitzsimons, S.J., and it is stated that several years before that publication a similar Catalogue of our Saints was drawn up by Father Fleming, a distinguished Professor of Thelogy at Pont-Musson. The interesting fact is added: "I have seen a Litany drawn up from this Catalogue, and publicly used at the sacred Stations in Rome by the Most Illustrious and Most Rev. Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, together with his assistants, and countrymen, and servants; and this illustrious Prelate was accustomed to recite the same Litany privately at a fixed hour every day in his own house in the presence of the most noble princes the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell." The Brigida Thaumaturga of Dr. Rothe had been published under the initials D. R. E. O. V. H. The true meaning of these initials is "David Rothe, Episcopus Ossoriensis, Viceprimas Hiberniæ," but they were quite a mystery to Dempster and his Scottish countrymen, who completely failed to unravel them. To add to their difficulty two new explanations are now suggested by the author of this treatise: "Dissertator rectiloquus elucidans originem virtutis Hibernorum;" or should Dempster wish to reverse their order: "Hibernicam veritatem odit enormiter ridiculus Dempsterus." But Dempster was far more severely punished in another work entitled "Hiberniæ sive Antiquioris Scotiæ Vindiciæ, &c., Authore G. T. Veridico Hiberno," printed at Antwerp in 1621, the authorship of which was at the time

very strictly concealed, but which was undoubtedly written by Dr. Rothe, as Lynch expressly attests. This work is divided into three parts. The first is a reply to Dempster. The second is entitled "Nomenclatura Scotorum et Scotiæ." The third gives, with considerable additions, Fitzsimon's Catalogue of the Saints. The only copy of this work that I have met with is preserved in the *Barberini* Library, Rome, and as it is exceedingly rare a few passages from it may not be without interest. The number of the clergy actually in Ireland the writer estimates at about 800. Of these, he says, "one hundred are Franciscans, thirty Jesuits, twenty Bernardines, a few Dominicans and Augustinians, and four or five Capuchins." When replying to the charge of ignorance among the Irish clergy he thus writes:—

"Who has not heard of Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, who taught Philosophy and Theology in the most celebrated University of Louvain? Being sent to Rome in the name of the University, he was raised to the Episcopate by Pope Clement the Eighth, who was remarkable for his sagacity in the estimate of men, and by the same Pontiff, and by his successor the present Pope, Paul the Fifth, he was appointed not only to be a member of, but to preside over the Congregation composed of the most renowned Theologians of the whole world, who were deputed to examine the question *De Auxiliis*. His learned writings, though not yet published, will add undying lustre to his name and his country. Who will not also admire the Archbishop of Tuam, Florence Conroy, a determined defender of St. Augustine, as his writings prove? Who will deny that the Bishop of Ossory is learned not in a few things? His writings alone, if all others were lost, should suffice to set forth the undying faith of Ireland. Is it necessary to add the Deasys and Therrys, Doctors of Paris and Douay, renowned as Professors in the Theological and Philosophical faculties."

He adds at page 36 the names of several others who, on account of their learning "ob singularem doctrinam" were justly reckoned among the ablest Academicians of the day: "The Most Reverend and Most Illustrious Eugene Matthews, Archbishop of Dublin, renowned Doctor of the Theological School of Pont-Musson: David Kearney, Archbishop of Cashel, Licentiate of Theology in the University of Douay: John Roche, a Roman Doctor of Theology: Maurice

Hurley, S.T.D., from Toulouse: John White, S.T.D., from Salamanca: the Augustinian, Dermid Cragh, S.T.D., from Florence: Patrick Comerford, also an Augustinian, S.T.D., from Florence: Dermid Callanan, S.T.D., from Toulouse: John Culenan, S.T.D., from Rheims: Robert Barry, Geoffrey Keating, Maurice Donely, Peter Butler, James Forrest, Patrick Hanratty, all Doctors of Theology from Bordeaux and Toulouse." Of Thomas Dease, who was soon afterwards appointed to the See of Meath, he writes that he proceeded Doctor in the Faculty of Theology in Paris; and when, "about eight years ago," the Scotchman, Douglas, was being led to execution for his crimes, Dr. Dease accompanied him to the scaffold, "a work of charity which the Irish will be happy to again discharge for their Scotch neighbours."

Among the most distinguished members of the Religious orders he mentions Christopher a Sacrobosco, S.J., Superior of his order in Ireland, for many years Professor of Theology at Dôle in Burgundy, and famed for his Theological writings: Henry Fitzsymons, S.J., "the acute professor of Philosophy at Douai, a great soldier of Christ, illustrious by his imprisonment, brave in repelling, and successful in winning back the enemies of the Faith": Stephen White, S.J., a Theologian, and well nigh the most eminent scholar of the age, whom Germany reveres untiringly teaching at Deylinga: Peter Wadding, S.J., who, after teaching for a long time sacred and human literature with applause, is now Prefect of both branches at Antwerp: Michael Geraldine, "philosophorum decus:" Plunkett, who, after teaching Greek with applause at Do ua has returned to labour in promoting the salvation of souls among his countrymen: James Everard, formerly professor of Philosophy in Lisbon, now for many years gathering abundant fruit in God's vineyard: another Geraldine instructs many unto justice in Sicily: Richard Walsh, professor of Philosophy at Salamanca: John Duguin, professor of Theology in Lisbon: William Cragh, also teaching Theology in Lisbon: Thomas Bray, professor at Ebora and Coimbra: Robert Coyter, professor at Coimbra. These are but a few of the many Irish priests who belong to the Society of Jesus.

Of the Franciscans Dr. Rothe writes that "by their labours, the most subtle doctrine of Scotus has been raised to that high position which it now holds in Belgium, where the Caghwells, the Chamberlaines, the Husseys, the Hickeys, the Fays, the Conors, are not only

illustrious by their long course of teaching in their Convent at Louvain, but have won for themselves a bright renown by their published most learned commentaries on Scotus. To Ireland also belong the Graths and Flemings of the same order, teaching alike Theology and Philosophy at Cologne: ours is Charles Luker, professor of Theology at Ebora and Lisbon: and ours is Donat Mooney, professor of Philosophy." Of the Dominicans he names the Patricks and Arthurs, professors at Salamanca: of the Augustinians, the Comerfords, Purcells, and Waddings, at Coimbra: and among the Discalced Carmelites, Patrick, "who is famed at Louvain for his Theological and Philosophical Lectures, and is justly reckoned among the most distinguished Priests of his order." Of the Capuchin Order he names Fathers Talbot, Bath and Nugent, whose Theological learning was appreciated throughout all France. "Father Barnabas Barnewall, Guardian and Rector at Rennes, now follows in their footsteps, whilst Thomas White has been teaching Philosophy at Evreux."

Refuting the statement that Irish scholars were unknown in Paris, he adds: "It is only two years since we saw that great brace of Philosophers, Stanihurst and Queely, teaching Philosophy with great applause, the one in the Cardinal's College, the other in the Becodian College; and, a few years earlier, Dease and Power were Professors in the royal college of Navarre."

Of the Franciscan missions to the Highlands of Scotland he thus writes: "Were it not that our Franciscan missionaries evangelized the Highland districts of Scotland during the past years, who amongst you would have gone thither to break the bread of life to the famishing poor? Among all those who are admitted to your Colleges will you find even one who knows the language of those parts? How false your statements are appears from the repeated Letters of the Nuncio of the Apostolic See in Belgium, who urgently commended that mission to the Irish Franciscan Fathers of Louvain, and assigned the reason 'for it is vain for us to hope for any help from the Scotch themselves.'"

Besides the published writings of Dr. Rothe, to which we have thus briefly referred, this illustrious Prelate was, for several years, engaged on a much larger work, which was intended to comprise the whole civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland and the Irish race, at which he toiled, as Lynch assures us, for well nigh fifty years. He gave it the curious title of—

Hierographiæ sacræ insulæ Hibernorum
lineamenta adumbrata
sive
Arrabo et prægustus
Tripartitæ descriptionis, Ecclesiæ, Regni, et
gentis
Hibernorum, etc.
Industria et studio Analectæ et Anagnostæ
Catholici
hoc est
Collectore et degestore Philadelpho
etc., etc.

In this work he proposed to set forth in detail the history of each diocese, with the lives of its Bishops, and a description of its monasteries, churches, schools, pilgrimages, and other holy places, as also an account of the writers, who flourished in each diocese, and of the remarkable events of which, perchance, it was the theatre.

This important work, though completed, was never published. A few specimen pages with a prospectus, soliciting aid for publishing the work, were printed at Waterford, in 1644; but men's minds were too much engaged at that time with other thoughts, and his appeal appears to have been made in vain. The same prospectus was repeated in a small work, entitled, "De Sacris Hiberniæ peregrinationibus" which Dr. Rothe published at Waterford, in 1647, as Lynch in his MS. History attests, but of which I have not been able to discover a single copy.

Only one fragment of the "Hierographia" is now known to exist. It is entitled, "De Ossoriensi Episcopatu," and is in great part inserted by Lynch in his MS. History: other MS. copies of the same fragment are preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and in the Library of T. C.D., and elsewhere. A few passages from it may be interesting as serving to illustrate our local history.—

"The Church of Saint Canice as well from its situation on a gentle eminence from whence, as from a watch-tower, it looks freely abroad on the city lying beneath, and the wide-spread surrounding district, as well as because it rises from its foundation a structure of the most solid nature, built of cut and polished stone, commends itself to the near beholder. . . . Adjoining the north side of the choir

and close to the external wall of the church, an Anchorite's cell was attached, whence, through an aperture in the wall near the right, or Gospel side of the Altar, the enclosed Anchorite could witness the celebration of the Divine Mysteries. In many of the principal churches of the kingdom, the same pious care and solicitude for the Anchorites were observed, as we have already said of the cell of Saint Imar in the church of Armagh, and as we will elsewhere see in the cell of Saint Carthage, at Lismore. There was also an Anchorite's cell at Aghour (*i.e.*, Freshford), in the Diocese of Ossory. . . The choir of the Church of Saint Canice is ample and splendid enough, adorned by a wonderfully large eastern window, than which I know not of any in all this kingdom of greater size, or more replete with ornament. It is divided by two piers furnished with columns of solid stone, and the light streams in through painted class, on which is most skilfully depicted the history of the entire life, passion, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord. Such is the elegance and splendour of this work, so great is the ornament it affords to, and so much does it become the building, that when the new iconoclasts, who sprung up under King Edward, and again under his sister Elizabeth, offered violence to the holy images, and that shameless drunkard, John Bale, had broken and mutilated all he could find of the statues and effigies of the saints, nevertheless, both he and the other intruded Bishops after him restrained their violent hands from these windows. On the left side of the choir, as you enter, the Bishop occupies a throne near the Altar, elevated on steps of hewn stone. Then the minor prelates, separated by a short space from the Bishop's throne, had their stalls in the circuit of the presbytery, each according to their dignity, the Dean first, next sat the Precentor, in the third place the Chancellor, and fourth the Treasurer, to whom is added the Archdeacon, for he also, in right of his prebend which he holds annexed to his office, enters the presbytery and sits with the other dignitaries. . . . The Church comprises within its walls a Chapter House and a chapel of the Blessed Virgin which serves for the parish church. The nave of the Church no less than the choir, contains sepulchral monuments of men of rank both in church and state." He then treats at considerable length of the Round Towers, and refers to the Bishop's palace and the Deanery, both at this time comprised within the Cathedral enclosure, and adds: "Near the Episcopal palace as you go forth from its western gate you

meet the house which the citizens not long ago used to call *the Paradise.* Hither, Peter Butler, Earl of Ormonde, used to retire for three or four days before Easter, in order that removed from all tumult and worldly disturbance, he might wholly devote himself to penitential exercises, in prayer, fasting, solitude, and almsgiving. Having renewed his spirit by confessing his sins and receiving the Holy Communion, he used to return to his own house on the vigil of Easter, where he celebrated the Resurrection of our Lord with great festivity and joy." He further informs us that the church of the Blessed Virgin was at first only an oratory erected in connection with the Cathedral for the convenience of those who found it difficult to go so far as the Cathedral for Mass, but it gradually became enriched and adorned and enlarged through the munificence of the clergy and the faithful.

The parish now called Saint Patrick's, he tells us, was originally called "Saint Mary's, of Domnachmore." From this fact we may conclude that it was one of those churches, which, in the first years of our faith were dedicated to God by our Apostle himself under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin; but as the new Cathedral Oratory of the Blessed Virgin gradually grew in importance the ancient name of that parish fell into disuse, and it became generally known solely by its title of Saint Patrick's Church, so called from having been founded by our national Apostle.

Dr. Lynch attests that the greater part of this invaluable work of our illustrious Prelate was destroyed by fire, when in 1650 the Cromwellian troops took possession of the city of Kilkenny. Two other treatises written by Dr. Rothe shared the same fate. One was entitled "Samaritanus proscribens remedia morbis Hibernorum," of which work, except the title, even the contemporary Lynch could find no trace. The other was a refutation of the statements of Rivius. This writer had entered the lists to reply to the Analecta and had endeavoured to persuade his readers that those who were put to death under Elizabeth and James the First, and whom Rothe had eulogized as champions of the true faith, were put to death as traitors to their lawful sovereign and enemies of the State. There was nothing new in this plea. From the days of Nero and Tiberius to the close of the era of persecution, the cry was raised "Christiani ad leones," the persecutors took care to proclaim from the housetops that the martyrs were the enemies of the emperors, endangering the peace and welfare of the

State. It was not a difficult matter for Dr. Rothe to triumphantly refute the flimsy statements of Rivius, but we must regret the loss of the additional facts with which he undoubtedly would have illustrated this refutation. Lynch adds:—"whilst writing these lines, I have received the attestation of the Secretary of Dr. Rothe who copied out the work, that the Refutation of Rivius was completed, but alas! with his other writings it perished in the sack of Kilkenny" (inter alia ejus scripta in Kilkenniæ direptione periit). Lynch remarks that the loss of so many of Rothe's works is irreparable, and he does not hesitate to say that his writings, which still remain, give proof at every page of "the depth of St. Chrysostom, the gravity of St. Gregory, the force of St. Augustine, and the majesty of St. Leo." His having done so much to illustrate our history is the more remarkable as he was always of infirm health, as he himself writes in the Analecta, and distracted by a thousand cares which his position and the sacred ministry imposed on him: "pluribus impeditus occupationibus, quas citra exilem valetudinem, vel necessitas invito imposuit, vel arbitrii mei libertate, vel officii et vocationis meae nexu assumpsi. *Analecta*, vol. 1, pag. 313."

Whilst Dr. Rothe was thus indefatigable in illustrating the ecclesiastical history of our country, he was at the same time most ready to permit others to avail themselves of the rich store of documents which he had gathered, and to aid them in their historical researches.

Among those who formed the acquaintance of Dr Rothe in Paris was the illustrious Messingham, Superior of the Irish College in that city. He published a few years later his "Florilegium Sanctorum Hibernæ," which was one of the first practical efforts to bring an accurate knowledge of the lives of our Saints within the reach of Irish students. He repeatedly acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Rothe for the assistance afforded him in this valuable work, and he adds that Rothe "was thoroughly familiar with every department of knowledge, an eloquent orator, acute reasoner, profound theologian, earnest reprover of vice, defender of ecclesiastical liberty, assertor of his country's rights, and fearless exponent of her terrible wrongs." Our Bishop wrote two Tracts for Messingham's work, one entitled 'De nominibus Hiberniæ,' and the other 'Elucidationes,' or notes to illustrate the Life of St. Patrick, as inserted in the Florilegium.

The illustrious Father Luke Wadding, meditated at this time a work on Irish hagiology such as was afterwards begun by Colgan.

Our Bishop at once intimated his readiness to assist him in every way in his power. It is thus Messingham writes to Wadding in the month of July, 1630: "His Lordship of Ossory wrote unto me, that if your paternity would signify unto him what particular notes or treatises you would have, that he can afford, he will send them to you." Usher though he had written so many bitter things against the Irish Catholics, acknowledges in his "Primordia" his indebtedness to the learning of Rothe, from whose works published and unpublished, he had derived very great advantage. He inserted also in his "Sylloge" an ancient poem on St. Livinus, which he thus gracefully acknowledges to have received from Dr. Rothe: "These elegiac verses copied by Heribert Rosweyd from a Corssendonekan manuscript, were communicated to me by Dr. Rothe, a most diligent investigator of his country's antiquities." When Father Michael O'Clery devoted himself to the arduous task of collecting materials for the Annals of the Four Masters and the other works in which he was engaged, there was no one who entered into his views more warmly than the Bishop of Ossory. "I gave him the few lives I had collected" (thus writes Dr. Rothe, in 1828), "and I sent him to Ormond, part of my Diocese, to transcribe there for a while, from whence he promised to come to Thomond, where I undertook to get many things for him, but he came not since; soon I expect him to come again and he shall be welcome truly to me." The endeavours of Dr. Rothe to collect the scattered fragments of our history are also referred to by Father Hugh Ward in his Life of St. Rumold. After mentioning that the records of Catholic times had been wantonly destroyed in Scotland, at the time of the so-called Reformation, he adds that "almost the whole of that Kingdom, was explored by some earnest investigators in search of such documents, and yet no records could be found: this was done thirteen years ago (that is in the year 1618), by the Most Rev. David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, having for his guide Father John Stuart, a native of Scotland, a Franciscan of the Convent of Louvain: and it was also done by four of our Religious who were Apostolic Missionaries in those parts and to whom I earnestly commended the matter. Nevertheless, they only found the Capitular Book of the Monastery of Iona, and a few small tracts on the Kings of Scotland, and their genealogies and battles" (pag. 313).

But Dr. Rothe did not allow his literary labours to interfere with

the more immediate duties of his Episcopal office. The Rev. Dr. Lynch who was so well acquainted with the Irish Church in those perilous times attests that he was indefatigable in administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, not only in Ossory, but throughout the widowed dioceses of the kingdom. It was oftentimes in some recess of the woods that the faithful gathered around him to listen to his exhortations and to receive the Sacraments; at other times he travelled by night from house to house instructing and consoling the suffering children of Christ. It might be said of him with truth that he bore the burden of the day and the heat: he incited all to virtue by his words, and yet more efficaciously by the example of his life: he was heedless of fatigue in the work of the sacred ministry, and he braved every peril, exposing himself to the most imminent danger of death that he might faithfully discharge his duty to his flock: "for at this time so rigorously were Catholics pursued and subjected to fines, torture, and imprisonment, that to bear the name of Priest was the sure prelude of suffering, and to be a Bishop was inevitably to incur the risk of the sacrifice of life."—*Lynch's MS.* Another contemporary writer also declares that "the clergy of Ireland reverenced Dr. Rothe above all others, on account of his grave deportment, his great piety, his vast learning, and his extreme suavity of manner; his prudence and counsel proved salutary to the Irish Church in the most trying circumstances of the Kingdom; and his letters, which I have read, full of profound learning and eloquence, appeased silently and almost unperceived the serious dissensions which, for a time, appeared so menacing between the secular and the regular clergy."

I do not know that there can be any better proof of the activity of Dr. Rothe in discharging his Episcopal duties, than the Synodical meetings which he convened and in which he took a leading part from the first years of his Episcopate. As Vice-Primate, he, in the year 1618, convened and presided at a meeting of the Vicars-Apostolic and other representatives of the various Dioceses of the Province of Armagh, at which several regulations were adopted, having for their object to renew ecclesiastical discipline, and to restore charity and concord between the religious orders and the secular clergy. The Primate was at this time the only surviving Bishop of the northern Province, and he, too, was living an exile from his See in Rome. Each diocese, however, had its Vicar-General, and each district its Vicar-

Forane; and there was a sufficient number of the parochial clergy ministering to the spiritual wants of the faithful. The first decree sanctioned at this Synodical meeting required the parish-priests to personally discharge the sacred duties incumbent on them, and except in case of necessity not to make use of substitutes from the ranks either of the regular or the secular clergy, and on no account were such to be admitted without commendatory letters from their cclesiastical superiors. Another decree makes known some abuses which had crept in during the times of persecution, and which the assembled clergy now resolved to remove:—

"It is known by experience, thus runs the decree, that in some districts of this Province faults are committed, either by excess or by defect, in performing the rites for the dead. Sometimes there is excessive luxury at the funeral banquets, and in the mourning dresses, to the great detriment of the heirs, with little benefit to the poor, and perhaps to the loss of the creditors. Again, through a depraved custom and a vain emulation, persons in humble circumstances seek to vie with those who are wealthy, and thus sin grievously and impose an intolerable burden on their own children. It is incumbent on us to remedy this excess, as also to check the abuse which gives great pain to pious souls, when, through the wickedness of some fools and gamesters, improper songs and plays are introduced at wakes, which would be unlawful even at festive rejoicings; works of darkness are linked with darkness, and the fear of death is banished from the mind, although the image of death, in the corpse of the deceased, is there present before them. Wherefore, we earnestly commend to all the clergy to the prelates, confessors, and preachers, and to all who have at heart the honour of God and the salvation of souls, that they procure by every means in their power, by counsel and exhortation, and precept, and the threats of the divine judgments, to preserve those subject to their care from such faults and abuses."

The clergy and laity are, moreover, exhorted to lay aside excessive pomp and feasting in the christening and marriage celebrations, and instead of solemnizing festivals by sumptuous banquets to celebrate them by giving the Indulgences and receiving the Holy Sacraments, which comfort and strengthen the soul. The Diocesan authorities were exhorted to invite the co-operation of the regular clergy, who are styled the "ornaments of the sacred hierarchy and the

strenuous co-operators of the clergy engaged in the pastoral charge." Their communities had been scattered, their convents suppressed: it therefore behoved the prelates of the Irish Church to adopt them among the parochial clergy, that they might devote their energies and zeal to cultivate the mystic vineyard of God. The Synodical decrees conclude with the exhortation that "the clergy shall abstain from every political intrigue, and avoid all offence to those who govern, save only in matters which belong to their spiritual duty: they shall devote themselves solely to the spiritual care of their respective flocks, and thus fulfil the divine precept to give to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to God what belongs to God." Though the regulations presented to this meeting of the Northern clergy by Dr. Rothe were intended solely for the province of Armagh, yet so highly were they esteemed, and so well suited were they considered to the circumstances of the kingdom, that in a short time they became very generally adopted throughout the other Provinces, and were soon reckoned among the general statutes of the Irish Church.

Dr. Rothe presided at another Synodical meeting which was held in Kilkenny on the 4th of September, 1624. Besides our Prelate there were present on this occasion Dr. Therry, Bishop of Cork: Dr. Arthur, Bishop of Limerick; Dr. Hurley, Bishop of Emly; Daniel Kearney, Vicar-General of Cashel; Laurence Lea, Vicar-General of Waterford and Lismore; Richard Connell, Vicar-Apostolic of Ross; and Malachy Queely, Vicar-Apostolic of Killaloe. Their first care was to add their solemn sanction to the Armagh decress of 1618, which, as they declare, "although enacted solely for the province of Armagh had, nevertheless, been accepted and ratified throughout the other provinces." The chief purpose for which they had now assembled was to harmonize the relations between the secular and regular clergy, thus to remove all danger of discord, and to promote the greater efficiency of both orders in the sacred ministry. They exhort the religious superiors to hold their chapters and other assemblies without any unnecessary display, and in retired places, that thus the Government might not be alarmed; also to limit the number of their novices, and to send to the Irish mission only those who had completed their course of studies, and had been duly prepared to serve our suffering Church. They add: "We will petition the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda that the union of the Bishop with his flock may not be interfered with

through the privileges and exceptional faculties granted to the religious orders: for, everything else has been lost to this country; the monuments of faith are no more; the cloisters are in ruins; the monasteries are plundered; the ecclesiastical property is seized by alien hands; the very churches have been appropriated by the Protestants; the faithful flock alone remains to the Pastor, and therefore too great diligence cannot be used that dissensions and discord may not creep in to alienate and divide them."

A few years later Dr. Rothe issued an Address to the clergy which he styled "Cautio Ecclesiastica," or an Ecclesiastical Warning, repeating and re-inculcating the instructions conveyed by the Synod of 1624. He incidentally mentions that the Irish Bishops had received from the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda a decree dated the 21st of August, 1626, which condemned alike the importunity sometimes displayed in collecting alms, and the extravagant course pursued in some districts in celebrating the patron festivals: "this decree, he adds, we wish the more particularly to enforce, on account of the patron-celebration lately witnessed in our own diocese, at which the people assembled in such numbers, and with such a prolonged feasting, even in the presence of heretics and other enemies of our Church, that not only were the faithful scandalized, but the pastors of other districts were exposed to persecution, and a Government inquiry was ordered, which is partly still impending over us." He also warns the faithful against some erroneous propositions which were at this time circulated among his flock: "they have been condemned by the Parisian Faculty, he says, as well as by the Nuncio of the Holy See, and the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam have written to Rome against them:" and, no matter by whom they might be proposed, the faithful were to close their ears against them.

In the year 1629 the Bishops of Leinster and Munster are found again assembling in Kilkenny under the hospitable roof of Dr. Rothe. Dr. Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, presided, and, with his suffragans of Ossory and Ferns, represented the province of Leinster. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, with his suffragans, Dr. Therry, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and Dr. Comerford, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, represented the province of Munster. The meeting had none of the formalities of a Synod. They met together to deliberate on the measures that might best promote the interests of the Irish

Church. Their deliberations commenced on the 24th, and ended on the 27th of August, and during these days they enjoyed the hospitality of Dr. Rothe, who at this time probably resided at the family mansion known as Wolf's-arch. No formal decrees were enacted, but the assembled Bishops resolved to publish the Council of Trent throughout their respective dioceses so far as circumstances would permit, excepting, however, the decree on clandestine marriages and some other disciplinary decrees which could not as yet be conveniently observed in Ireland. It was also deemed expedient that the use of whitemeats in Lent, as observed in the Dublin province, would be extended to the province of Cashel, so that milk, butter, and cheese might be allowed at one meal on each day, with the exception of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday. Holy Orders were thenceforth to be conferred but seldom, and commendatory letters were to be granted with extreme caution. Houses merely rented for a limited time were not to be allowed the privileges of monasteries, nor to be exempt from Episcopal visitation. These and a few other resolutions were signed by the assembled Prelates, and it was resolved that a similar meeting of the Bishops should be held at least every two years.

Dr. John Roche, who, after a long residence in Rome, had been appointed to the See of Ferns in 1624, tarried on his homeward journey in Paris and London, and arrived in Ireland in the year 1629, and, as we have already mentioned, took part in the Episcopal meeting to which we have just referred. Towards the close of the year he forwarded to the S.C. of Propaganda a short account of the Irish Church, in which he thus describes the proceedings at Kilkenny: "From Meath I proceeded to Ossory, being invited by the Bishop to assist at a meeting of the Dublin and Cashel Prelates, which was to be held at Kilkenny on an appointed day. The Bishop of Ossory to whom I refer is David Rothe, who, by his writings and illustrious deeds, is an ornament to his country: and, indeed, to his exhortations and counsel we the other Bishops are indebted for whatever good we do: he stimulates us all by his example, and even as he is senior in years and Episcopate, so is he a model of virtue to us all. He it is that awakens us to vigilance, and invites us to meet together to take counsel; and, when we are assembled, he entertains us at his own expense, he directs our deliberations, proposes the matters to be discussed, and by his suavity of manner and the lucidity of his reasoning

leads all into his views and preserves concord in our deliberations. The very day that I arrived in Kilkenny, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Metropolitan of our province, also arrived there, and the Archbishop of Cashel, with his suffragans of Cork and Waterford. We all stayed with the Bishop of Ossory, without any ostentation or display, and without exciting the alarm of the Governmenn authorities. On the very day of our arrival, having invoked the Holy Ghost, we held our first session: on the following days we again assembled both morning and evening, and on the third day the sessions were brought to a close with great mutual joy and concord. We did not publish any acts or decrees, as our meeting was not a Diocesan, or Provincial, or National Synod. It was nothing more than a conference of Prelates of the same Episcopal order, who rejoiced to take counsel together that we might all pursue a uniform course in the exercise of the sacred ministry, lest any one of us perhaps might run or have run in vain." Subsequently in the same letter it is added: "In the Diocese of Ossory I found the Bishop of that See a living model of a true Prelate and a true Pastor."

As we have seen, it was arranged at this Episcopal conference that similar meetings or synods should be held at least every two years. Whether or not this rule was subsequently observed we have now no sufficient documents to determine. The next Provincial Synod of the province of Dublin of which the Acts have been preserved was held at Tyrchogir, near Portarlington, on the 29th of July, 1640: the Archbishop of Dublin presided: the Bishops of Ossory and Kildare and the Vicar-General of Ferns were present, for Dr. Roche, Bishop of Ferns, had passed to his reward in the year 1636. Many salutary decrees were enacted, which are set forth in the "Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin."

Several letters of Dr. Rothe at this period are still extant among the Wadding MSS., and some others have been published from the Propaganda Archives, Rome, in the "Spicilegium Ossoriense." On the 18th of December, 1615, he writes in English to Primate Lombard, giving several details about the ecclesiastical affairs of the Irish Church. The clergy of the province of Armagh had already forwarded their petititions to the Primate, together with some ordinances which they had agreed upon; but as all had been lost at sea a second copy of their ordinances was now forwarded, with a reques

that they may be "perused, confirmed, or corrected" in Rome. He asks special favours for Patrick Hanratty, Vicar-Apostolic of Down and Connor, of whom he writes: "he deserveth well to be encouraged in his charge, for he attendeth it the best he can with labour and diligence, and not without danger." He also commends Balthazar de la Hoide Vicar-General of Armagh, John Gafney Vicar-Apostolic of Ardagh, and Fergall MacEgan Vicar-General of Clonmacnoise. The Vicar of Drogheda prayed that as the whole town formed one corporate body that portion of it which belonged to the Diocese of Meath should be added to the Diocese of Armagh. In the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore the clergy were opposed to the appointment of Dermid M'Carty as Vicar-Apostolic, and they prayed that a Diocesan Chapter would be granted them. "We hear of alterations to be made shortly, and that the Deputy is called upon to receive a successor the next spring, or some other change in the Government. . . And so with remembrance of my bounden service as well now in this stormy winter as in the forepast summer, I take leave this 18th of December, 1615." In another letter Dr. Rothe laments the grinding tax exacted from the poor Catholics for absenting themselves from the Protestant churches, and its oppressiveness was felt the more, he says, as the tax was now applied to print and circulate the Protestant Prayerbook and Bible. His last letter to the Primate is dated the 17th of September, 1625: it is too long to cite in full, but the following extracts give the substance of the whole letter:—

'RIGHT HONOURABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD—

In some of my former letters I have touched how dangerous it was for our merchants to traffick, by reason of the multitudes of pirates who are abroad, and such as never haunted our coasts before. Turkish rovers now rise in the west. This makes me doubtful whether my letters from Drogheda about the beginning of August, or my other letters from Limerick about the end of the same month, will come at all, or come in time to your lordship's hands. Together with the last which should go by way of Paris, I sent six pounds to make you a signet. Hitherto, indeed, I received nothing either of Louth or (Armagh); but if I may recover anything henceforth out of these two places, as I mean to try it shortly, I will not forget to send it to Gottifredo (Dr. Lombard's agent). . . We live here in continual fear

of the infection, which in England, especially in London and thereabouts, hath consumed already many thousands; and for the more safeguard here with us, not only the maritime, but also the inland towns, are kept with watch and ward, to keep all commerce out of danger, which is hard to be well done. The numbers that died weekly in London were so multiplied, notwithstanding there were commanded a holiday to be spent in fasting, praying, and preaching, every Wednesday, with a solemn cessation from all servile works: lest the vehemence of the great mortality should decimate the people, his majesty commanded there should be no reckoning or enrolling how many should die by the week; as some weeks here past the number of seven thousand died, and, as it is noted by some, or at least is so reported by many, few or no Catholics died among so many that are at every side of them carried off to their graves. And yet the Protestants, but especially the Puritans, spare not to say that this plague is come from God to punish the nation for their remissness and toleration with Catholics; and they urge vehemently on the Parliament to edge his majesty both to execute severely the laws already enacted against them, and to enact new laws, as though there was not enough before. But his majesty was not inclined to do so; and in his speech in the parliament before the dissolving of it at Oxford (whither they betook themselves from London to shun the infection), he gave them a check and sharp reprehension for their eagerness in that matter. This is reported by a gentlemen of the lord of Baltimore's retinue lately come from England. This lord (Baltimore), was Sir George Calvert, of late principal Secretary to King James, now a professed Catholic, who, with his wife and children, are come to dwell in this country, and now reside in Ferns, in county Wexford, where he hath purchased land from Sir Richard Maisterson to the value of £1,600. The place is called Cloghamon, where he goeth in hand to build presently, and in the interim dwelleth in the manor-house of Ferns, having left some two of his younger children at Waterford, to be there brought up in a private school of humanity. . . The Captain, your honour's nephew, was employed a fortnight ago to the Lord Deputy who is now in progress. The last Tuesday he was in Upper-Ossory with Mr. Bryan Fitzpatrick, son and heir to the lord of that country, and son-in-law to Ormond: from thence he was to go next day to Birr, in Ely, a new town of the plantation, and so through MacCoghlan's country

to Kilbeggan, and from thence back to Dublin. The lord Deputy remitted him to the lord Dockwra, treasurer at war. The matter is this: Since the coming over of the last press of soldiers, Waterford being charged with four companies, and no payment of money for them these many weeks past, the citizens are driven to bear the burden of them, and to cess themselves with their diet, which amounted by the month to about £200, besides their burning fire and candle-light. He therefore was sent either to receive their pay, or upon default, to make suit for the removing of two companies to some other place, and that being done the citizens will remit what has been unpaid for the time past. He is not come home as yet, but in his absence the lord Caulfield, who is master of the Ordnance, coming to survey the fort, the building whereof is now intermitted for want of expenses to go forward with it, as upon his coming the soldiers were in hopes to be relieved by him, so upon his moneyless departure they were left without comfort; and so for their recreation in fair weather they go a-nutting and hunting of blackberries, like michers that run from school when they should be better occupied, and for the waste which they commit, breaking down hedges and hovels, no better redress than to cry *peccavi*, as some of them do *flexis genibus*. The earl of Desmond (Gerald Fitz John), soon after the news of King James's death being gone for England, from thence betook himself towards the Palgrave and his lady whom they name of Bohemia. His going is taken by some for want of a tipstaff, which was not granted by the son as freely as by the father; others think it was for other purposes, and for the mistrust in Holland of Graff Henry of Nassau: but howsoever it be of that, in the affair of the Waterford liberties, the agents found him no friend, but rather the opposite, as all the year before, while he continued in the country, he opposed the liberties of Kilkenny, which got him but little credit or good will. I have in my other letters from Drogheda and Limerick informed your Lordship of another opposition which, being altogether groundless, is also fruitless to the opposite. My ancient friend, Balthazar Delahoyde, striving against the stream, runneth upon the rocks. . . I had many encounters these years past for the upholding of him in his jurisdiction: many contestations he had with the Bernardines and Mendicant Orders, and with several others of the hierarchical clergy. I did one man's endeavour to put things in quietness. . . But it grieveth me that the good town of Drogheda is

now these few years past made the stage of ecclesiastical controversy, and that no sooner one debate is either ended or abated than another sprouteth out as it were in a circle. If it were not irksome to your Lordship, I might send a whole bundle of complaints, instances, and aggravations, delivered unto me last Summer against Balthazar and his nephew Christopher, all which I reserve in a hidden chaos until I shall hear next from you, and know your further pleasure whether I shall send them thither or burn them here. I see his weakness groweth more and more, and others displeased more and more with him, not only for his own sake, but also for his collateries; as I also sustain more displeasure for not proceeding in the matter, as I am warranted by your patent, and by the resolutions of Divines, lawyers, and sage Prelates: but I love to walk rather *pede plumbeo quam plumio* in matters of extending any severity; for I have resolved not to proceed with any censures, so contemptible they are made in the same place, and so loth would I be to use them at any hand, as hitherto I have not used them in any place or for any occasion; thinking it more secure to go on by way of persuasion than of compulsion, as I find of more efficacy now-a-days, especially in this our unsettled country, where a bad cause may have a fair colour, if not of law, at least of discretion and equity, to excuse the intention, if not the word. God direct your Lordship and send you hither safe, to see with your eyes, and to redress with your advice and authority what goeth amiss."

The controversy in Drogheda, to which Dr. Rothe refers in this letter, was in many ways, a remarkable one. I take the following details from a paper, forwarded to Propaganda about this time, probably by Rothe himself. It is the more interesting, as it supplies some links hitherto missing in the ecclesiastical history of that Catholic town. The Franciscan Order in Catholic Times had erected a monastery in Drogheda, and in the beginning of the 17th century its ruins could still be seen (cujus etiamnum ruinæ apparent). Throughout the dismal period of persecution, the Fathers of that Order had zealously discharged the duties of the sacred Ministry; and, at intervals, they were the only Priests who, after successfully battling against the storm, were enabled, from their places of concealment, to administer the Sacraments to the faithful. In the year 1610, some few of the Fathers ventured to rent a private house in the town, where, as far as circumstances would permit, they followed their rule, kept a

private oratory, and led a community life. Here, more than once, the Protestant Primate invaded their premises, and carried off some of the friars to prison, and demolished the altar, which they had used when offering the Holy Sacrifice (licet variis objecti periculis et Pseudo—primatis persecutionibus qui captis aliquoties quibusdam fratribus, altare soepius destruxit in quo res sacra fiebat). About the same time Rev. Balthazar Delahoyde, a native of the Diocese and P.P. of Drogheda who, for some years, had been the Deputy or Delegate of Dr. Rothe for the Diocese of Armagh, and subsequently was appointed Vicar-General of the absent Primate, opened a public oratory in which, in undisturbed tranquility, but without any outward display, he discharged the duties of the sacred ministry. In the year 1619 two Jesuit Fathers, Robert Bath and James Everard, took up their abode in Drogheda, and were invited to administer the sacraments in the Oratory of Father Delahoyde. They laboured with great zeal, and, moreover, established in the Oratory the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin. The Franciscans on their part applied for the necessary sanction that they too might be permitted to open a public oratory and establish the religious Confraternity of their order. This, however, Father Delahoyde deemed it prudent to refuse. The Franciscans appealed to the Holy See; and Rome having referred the decision of the case to Rev. James Plunket, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Meath, he gave judgment in favour of the Franciscans. Father Delahoyde, however, refused to abide by this decision, and summoned a meeting of all the clergy of Armagh and the Vicars of the suffragan sees. They met together on the 20th of January, 1623, and having continued their deliberations for five days, they decided in favour of the Franciscans, the chief patrons of their cause being the Rev. Patrick Hanratty, S.T.D., Vicar-Apostolic of Down and Connor; and Rev. Patrick Matthews, Bachelor of Theology, Vicar-General of Dromore.

Soon, however, a great change supervened. Father Delahoyde was struck down by sickness which brought him to death's doors; whilst, on the other hand, Thomas Dease being appointed Bishop of Meath, and Rev. James Plunket having ceased to be Vicar-General, the Rev. Christopher Cusack, though bent down with years, was chosen to discharge the duties of that office. Nor was this all. The Rev. Christopher Delahoyde, nephew of the infirm Vicar-General of

Armagh, was by the Primate appointed Pastor of St. Peter's, Drogheda, with authority to assist his uncle as Vicar-General of Armagh, and at the same time he was appointed by provision of the Holy See Pastor of St. Mary's, Drogheda, in the Diocese of Meath, and received from the Bishop of Meath full powers of Vicar-General to assist Dr. Cusack. He strenuously opposed the Franciscan claim, and again the matter was referred to Rome. The question was brought before the Sacred Congregation on the 28th of April, 1623, when it was resolved that the controversy and all the other dissensions that had arisen between the secular and regular clergy in Ireland should be referred to the Primate, Dr. Lombard, who was then preparing to return to Ireland, and to Dr. Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, and they were authorised to inquire into, and to take all the necessary steps to decide these controversies, either conjointly or separately, as they might think best. Dr. Rothe does not appear to have taken any steps in the controversy pending the return of the Primate. But the Primate was not destined to re-visit his native land. He died in Rome in the year 1625, and a Franciscan being appointed his successor in the Primatical See, the question was at length definitively set at rest in favour of the Franciscans.

It would be tedious to enter into the minute details of the other various dissensions between the secular and the regular clergy, which at this time distracted the Irish Church, the more so as I have written about them at some length in the Lives of the Archbishops of Dublin. Father Patrick Cahill, P.P., of St. Michael's, in the city of Dublin, was one of those who most warmly advocated the cause of the secular clergy. He was a zealous Priest, and had suffered imprisonment for the faith. He appealed to Rome on account of some regulations made by the Archbishop, and proceeded thither in person to defend his appeal. Among the commendatory papers which he presented to Proganda, there is a short attestation signed by Dr. Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, and Dr. Dease, Bishop of Meath, to the effect that Father Cahill was "an Irish Priest, commendable for the imprisonment which he had endured, and for the faithful toil with which he had cultivated the salvation of souls;" and, it is added, "this we can attest from our own knowledge, as well as from the favourable testimony of all who have known him." The case being inquired into in Rome, it was by order of the Holy See in 1621 referred back to the Bishops of Cork, Water-

ford, Ferns, and Ossory, to be adjudicated on by them. So far as Father Cahill was personally concerned he was restored to the parish of St. Michael, but at the same time the Religious were declared free from the erroneous doctrines with which their opponents had upbraided them. The union of the Irish Bishops, and the prudent action of the Holy See, in a few years put an end to these dissensions and restored peace and calm to the Irish Church. Dr. Rothe yielded to none in his endeavours to promote this happy spirit of concord. From the first years of his Episcopate he had established in Kilkenny a Pious Association for the promotion of charity and peace, to which he gave the name of "Congregatio Pacifica.' This Association spread rapidly throughout Ireland, and in the year 1620 Dr. Rothe published a special prayer to be used by its members, and invoking the patronage of the Blessed Virgin upon all who were enrolled in it. He also obtained two Briefs from Paul the Fifth and Urban the Eighth, granting special privileges to this pious Association. Our Diocesan Museum preserves a large silver Crucifix Reliquary, with the inscription in large letters on the shaft of the cross, "Ad usum Pacificæ Congregationis:" whilst underneath in small lettess is another inscription as follows: "David Ep. Ossoriensis Congregationi Pacificæ D.C. anno 1641;" that is to say, it was presented by Dr. Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, to this Association in the eventful year 1641.

Among the letters of Dr. Rothe, written at this time, there is one by which the Rev. John Roche, who is described as "a Priest of the Diocese of Ferns, Doctor of S. Theology, Canon of Douai, and Prothonotary Apostolic," was appointed to the post of agent or Procurator in the eternal city. Dr. Rothe signs himself "David Ossoriensis, Vice-Primas Hiberniæ." The letter was also signed by Richard Arthur, Bishop-Elect of Limerick: Balthasar Delahoide, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Armagh: Dr. James Talbot, Vicar-Apostolic of Kildare: Daniel O'Drohen, Vicar-Apostolic of Ferns: Dr. Robert Barry, Vicar-Apostolic of Ross: Laurence Lea, Vicar-General of Waterford and Lismore, and Dean of Waterford: and Maurice Hurley, Bishop-Elect of Emly.

This letter probably did not reach its destination, or at least was delayed on the road, as a year later I find another patent of Procurator (dated 15th of June, 1623) addressed to Dr. Roche, signed by the Bishop of Ossory, and by the following Prelates: Thomas, Bishop

of Meath; Richard, Bishop-Elect of Limerick; Maurice, Bishop-Elect of Emly; James Talbot, Vicar-General of Dublin; Malachy Queeley, Vicar-Apostolic of Killaloe; Dr. James Talbot, Vicar-Apostolic of Kildare; Robert Barry, Vicar-Apostolic of Ross; Matthew Roche, Vicar-Apostolic of Leighlin: Laurence Lea, Vicar-General of Waterford and Lismore; and Daniel O'Drohen, Vicar-Apostolic of Ferns.

Dr. Roche, to whom these letters were addressed, continued to act as agent for those Prelates in Rome till his appointment to the See of Ferns. A few years later, on 10th of April, 1629, another letter was addressed to Rev. Eugene Callanan, who is described as "Priest of the Diocese of Killaloe, and Rector of the Irish College in Rome," appointing him to the same office of Procurator. It was signed by the Bishops of Ossory, Ferns, Limerick, Emly, Meath, and Cork.

I need no more than briefly refer to the Letters of our Bishop, which are published in the first volume of the Spicilegium Ossoriense. On the 4th of September, 1624, Dr. Rothe and other Prelates published a special commendatory letter in favour of the Irish College in Paris, which institution, it says, by the many missionaries whom it trained to labour in the Irish vineyard had conferred many blessings on Ireland; and in particular the President of the College, Rev. Thomas Messingham, is commended as a man remarkable for integrity and piety: "virum spectatæ integritatis et fidei." On the same day another commendatory Letter was signed by Dr. Rothe and several others in favour of the Capuchin order: "from the very commencement of this order, it says, our forefathers desired to have their aid and assistance in this kingdom, and we too, on whom devolves the duty of providing for the welfare and consolation of our flocks, desire their presence amongst us, that they may be a model to others and may aid us in cultivating this vineyard by the ploughshare of Christian piety and perfection." On the 9th of February, 1630, Dr. Rothe's name is attached to a Petition of Irish Bishops praying for an increase in the Hierarchy of England. One Bishop had already been granted to that long desolate Church. Many of the clergy in England now desired that others would be appointed, and the Irish Prelates add their prayer that the desired increase in the Episcopate would be granted as the surest means for consoling the faithful and promoting the interests of the Faith. On the 3rd of May, 1535, Dr. Rothe

writes to the Secretary and to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, thanking the S. Congregation for the privilege lately accorded to the Irish Bishops that for a term of twenty-five years it would be permitted them to make the prescribed visit *ad Limina Apostolorum* through a Procurator. Acting on this permission he at once deputed the Rev. Dr. Edmond Dwyer, subsequently Bishop of Limerick, to make that visit on his part, and to present to the S. Congregation in his name a brief report on the state of the Diocese of Ossory.

When the Primatial See of Armagh became vacant in 1624 by the demise of Dr. Lombard, several papers were forwarded to the S. Congregation of Propaganda soliciting the appointment of a worthy successor. Among these papers I find one short petition presented in the name of the Irish clergy. It states that it was particularly exdient to fill up the vacancy in the See of Armagh without delay, lest the Hierarchy of Ireland would be left without its chief; and adds: "Although the Archbishop lately deceased did not reside within the Province, he had, however, in the diocese a good Vicar-General, and above the Vicar-General he had the renowned Bishop of Ossory, with the title of Vice-Primate, through whose exertions meetings of the clergy were held in that province, and many praiseworthy statutes were enacted and enforced, having for their object to promote ecclesiastical observance and the salvation of souls." It then commends three names for the vacant See as follows: "1st. The Bishop of Ossory, who for many years has been Vice-Primate: he is beyond question the first of our whole Ecclesiastical body, as well in point of learning as in his manner of life: and the deceased Primate wished that he above all others should succeed him: 2nd. The Bishop of Meath, a grave and learned man, who before his promotion to the Episcopate was distinguished among the excellent Doctors of the Sorbonne: 3rd. Father Francis Nugent (Capuchin), who is remarkable for the many endowments of grace and nature and learning, with which he is blessed by God." The writer of this petition further states that besides the Bishop of Meath three other Bishops had been recently appointed in the province of Armagh (ante paucos menses), but that it would not be expedient to translate any of them to the Primatial See.

The Bishop of Ferns, in his Letters to Propaganda, had frequently referred to his friend and relative the Bishop of Ossory. Thus, on the 18th November, 1633: "David, Bishop of Ossory, who

in learning and piety, is senior among the Bishops of this Kingdom, has, in his pastoral solicitude, addressed to his Diocese a Pastoral warning against the current errors of the day: I send a copy of it to the S. Congregation, and should you find nothing in it but what is holy and worthy of the good Pastor, it is meet that we also and the other Prelates of the Kingdom should likewise address it to our flocks." (Spicilegium Ossorien. I. 190.) In another letter he writes: "We are endeavouring, under the guidance of the Bishop of Ossory, to root out the evil plants, whilst we await the instructions of the Sacred Congregation as to the further course which we should pursue." (Ibid. pag. 191.) Again, on the 15th of November, 1634: "The Bishop of Ossory, who is the senior Bishop of Ireland, is suffering a little from infirmity. When he shall be taken from us, our loss will be truly great, for he is a worthy Prelate, and a great servant of God, and he acts as a sentinel keeping us all in order, Bishops, Priests, or Friars, that we may be, telling each one his faults, and for this reason some persons censure him as being over zealous, but in truth we stand in need of such a watchful monitor in these regions of license and liberty." (Ibid. pag. 199). In the month of April, 1636, this worthy Prelate proceeded to Kilkenny to assist the venerable Bishop, who was seriously ill, but during his stay in that city he himself was summoned to his reward, and was interred at Kilkenny, probably in St. Mary's Church. Dr. Rothe greatly lamented his death, and wrote to Propaganda to announce the loss "which not alone the Diocese of Ferns, but the whole Church of Ireland," had sustained: "in eo amisimus multa honoris et decoris nostri ornamenta; multa sapientiae et consilii praesidia; multa etiam Religionis Catholicae et disciplinae ecclesiasticae promovendae firmamenta." (Ibid. 211.)

Viewing his own infirmities, and considering how his venerated friend of Ferns had been cut off in the full vigour of life, Dr. Rothe addressed a petition to the Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda praying to be relieved of the burden of the episcopal responsibility, or at least to be allowed the aid of a zealous Coadjutor: "With all the care and solicitude of which I was capable (he writes) I have for 16 years watched over this Diocese of Ossory, and whilst I thus governed it, not relying on my own strength, which was but little indeed, but on the boundless and endless Mercy of God, such pro-

gress has been made that as is manifest nothing has been left undone, so far as the circumstances of the time would permit, to observe and promote Christian morality and instruction, and to firmly protect and propagate the Catholic faith, and to maintain peace and concord. But now worn out as I am with toil, and wearied with anxieties, and broken down by the many infirmities of old age, my advanced years render me unfit to bear the burden imposed on me, and I earnestly implore His Holiness, through your intervention, most Eminent Fathers, to relieve me of this weight, or at least to grant me a devoted Coajutor who may lighten this burden that oppresses me. My old age and the fit of sickness, from which I am not as yet quite recovered, unmistakeably remind me that my end is not far distant. However, I humbly submit all this matter and myself to the Holy Father, and to the mature judgment of your Eminences." (Ibid pag. 210).

The Holy See, however, was far from consenting to relieve Dr. Rothe of the burden of the Episcopal charge. On the contrary, before the close of the year another important commission was added to his ordinary Diocesan duties. Serious dissensions between the clergy and Bishop had arisen in the Diocese of Killaloe, particularly in regard to dues and Diocesan customs. The Holy See in the month of December, 1636, deputed the Bishop of Ossory, and the Vicar-Apostolic of Clonmacnoise (Terence Coghlan, who died in 1638) to inquire into all these matters in dispute, and to endeavour to restore harmony, or at least to report on all the details of the controversy to the Congregation of Propaganda. The Vicar-Apostolic of Clonmacnoise was prevented by ill-health and his onerous duties from taking any part in this inquiry, and thus the whole burden devolved on Dr. Rothe. Three times he made perilous journeys to the diocese of Killaloe to hear the statements of the contending parties and to heal their differences. He, moreover, deputed the Rev. Dr. John Creagh, Vicar-General of Limerick, to interrogate in his name various witnesses in the case, and when his report was forwarded to him he proceeded himself to again inquire into the accuracy of the statements that had been received. At length on the 28th of September, 1637, he wrote to the Secretary of Propaganda, setting forth the various steps which had been taken, and conveying the pleasing intelligence that there was every prospect of the whole controversy being amicably settled. (Ibid. pag. 227).

No sooner, however, had this storm subsided than another disagreement arose on some question of jurisdiction between the Bishop of Killaloe and the Archbishop of Cashel. The matter was referred by Rome to Dr. Rothe and Dr. Queely, Archbishop of Tuam. The latter being unable or unwilling to interfere, the whole burden of the inquiry once more fell on the Bishop of Ossory. As usual Dr. Rothe was most successful in restoring concord, and he joyfully announces the result in his letter to the Secretary of Propaganda on the 24th of January, 1639; the dissensions had been happily healed, and the Prelates had in his presence given the kiss of peace; and he adds that since he had come to labour on the Irish mission, "almost thirty years ago," it had been one of the most cherished objects which he ever held in view thus to promote peace and to set at rest all such useless controversies. (Ibid. pag. 235).

It required great prudence and circumspection on the part of Dr. Rothe during these long years of evangelical toil to escape unharmed amid the many dangers which encompassed him. As early as the year 1618, in a list of the Irish clergy forwarded to London by an agent of the Government, he had been sharply referred to in the following words: "There is one Davy Rothe, a most seditious instrument, who was sent from Rome, since Tyrone's abode there. He takes upon himself the name and authority of Prothonotarius Apostolicus, to hear and determine all Ecclesiastical business for the kingdom of Ireland, and hath been in the north since his arrival, but is now for the most part in Munster." Though the jealousy of the agents of the Government was thus awakened, and their attention directed to the movements of Dr. Rothe, yet in the published State Papers of the following years down to the eventful period of 1641 his name is not even once to be met with. Nevertheless, throughout all that time he was most assiduous in the discharge of every duty of the Episcopal office. It is probable that for a short interval he was the only Bishop actually resident in Ireland, and thus he became exposed to greater danger travelling about from district to district to administer Confirmation and to confer Holy Orders. In the year 1623, on the 21st of January, a Proclamation was published in Dublin by the Lord Deputy (Falkland) and Council, ordering the banishment of all Bishops and Priests from the Kingdom: "It is well known (it thus began) by daily experience what intolerable mischiefs

and inconveniences have grown upon this realm through the extraordinary resort of such persons hither as are commonly called Titular Popish Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars General, Abbots, Priors, Deans, Jesuits, Friars, Seminary Priests, and others." Yet, in that very year, on the 7th of September, Dr. Rothe gave the Episcopal Consecration to Dr. Maurice Hurley, appointed by the Holy See Bishop of Emly. His appointment indeed had been made as far back as the year 1620, but the Bulls were seized on the way by pirates, and destroyed. New Bulls were expedited in 1622, and his consecration, which took place in the city of Kilkenny, was probably the first which had taken place in Ireland for more than forty years. Besides all this, Dr. Rothe had convened several meetings of the clergy, not alone in Kilkenny, but throughout the Province of Armagh, and such was his prudence that all were held in peace. Providence watched over the safety of the zealous Prelate, who was reserved for more responsible duties and more arduous labours in the cause of Religion during the eventful period of the Confederation, which shall next engage our attention.

THE

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